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LIBRARY NOTES AND NEWS.

WE are glad to be able to announce that the new building which is to house the reconstructed Library of Louvain is nearing completion and will be inaugurated in the presence of His Royal Highness Prince Leopold of Belgium on the 4th of July ; when, after the benediction of the building and of the carillon by the Cardinal Archbishop of Malines assisted by American and Belgian Bishops, and the ringing of the great bell for the first time, the keys of the Library and of the carillon will be handed to the authorities of the University of Louvain, by the representatives of the American donors.

THE NEW
LOUVAIN
LIBRARY.

The building has been erected on a splendid site at the highest part of the town, overlooking the Place du Peuple, the exact spot where the little Belgian army, away back in 1914, thrilled the world by defying the invading hordes of Germany. It has been in course of construction since July, 1921, when the first stone was laid by Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, President of Columbia University, in the presence of the King and Queen of the Belgians, and a brilliant assemblage of representatives of learned institutions from every part of Europe and America.

The entire cost of the building has been defrayed by the people of the United States, through a strong and influential national committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Murray Butler, and it is largely to the chairman's influence and initiative and to that of Mr. Herbert Hoover that the scheme has been carried to such a satisfactory

conclusion. Not only did the committee provide the necessary million dollars, but, with great vision and forethought, they have furnished the authorities of the University with a further sum of \$125,000 with which to provide for the upkeep of the building.

Great Britain's contribution to the work of restoration is represented by the collection of books numbering 55,793 volumes, which have been gathered from all parts of the British Empire, under the scheme inaugurated by the Governors of the John Rylands Library in December, 1914.

When, in the early part of 1915, we launched our general appeal for help, we announced our willingness to undertake the custody of any suitable works which might be entrusted to us for the purpose of assisting in the equipment of the new library. We also undertook to prepare a register of the names and addresses of the various contributors with an exact description of their gifts, for presentation to the University at the appropriate time, to serve as a permanent record of this combined effort to repair some of the damage which had been wrought by the war.

The official opening of the new building seems to offer the most appropriate occasion for the handing over of this register, and for that purpose it has been suitably bound in two volumes, and forwarded to the Recteur Magnificus of the University, Monseigneur P. Ladeuze, together with a small final consignment of gifts, so as to reach Louvain in time for the inauguration.

Upwards of 700 contributors figure in the register, which contains the names of institutions that have made liberal contributions of eminently suitable works from their stock of duplicates, names of individual collectors who have given with equal liberality and eagerness, from their own shelves, volumes of great interest and also of great rarity, together with names of struggling students whose gifts partake of the sanctity of a sacrifice, since in many cases they consisted of treasured possessions which had been acquired through the exercise of economy and self-denial. Many of the leading publishers also figure in the list, as having with great generosity assisted by their gifts to build up the collection on its modern side. Another interesting feature in the register, which should not be overlooked, is the number of contributions which have been made in memory of deceased friends, of whom some laid down their lives in the cause of liberty and truth.

Attention has been called recently in the Press to the long-felt need for an authoritative record of the personnel, politics, and duration of the Parliaments of England. It has been pointed out that this is a field of historical research in which singularly little work has been done, and that invaluable sidelights would be thrown upon history were such a record available, in which is shown the composition of Parliament during such critical periods as the Wars of the Roses, the stormy days of Edward VI. when parties were first born, and the Civil Wars.

In the course of the correspondence reference has been made to the Pink Manuscripts, about which little seems to be generally known, and for that reason we feel that we shall be rendering a service to students by briefly describing the scope and nature of the collection of material, dealing with this very subject, which is preserved in the John Rylands Library, and is known as "The Pink Manuscripts."

Mr. W. Duncombe Pink, of Leigh, Lancashire, whose death at an advanced age took place in 1924, had devoted the leisure of a long life to the collection of material with a view to the compilation of a biographical dictionary of the Members of Parliament. The work was unfinished at the time of Mr. Pink's death, but the dictionary as far as it was completed, and the collections for it, together with a mass of other papers were bequeathed to the John Rylands Library, where they have been provisionally arranged so as to be more readily available to students.

The collection comprises: A Dictionary of the Members of Parliament in the Tudor and Stuart Periods, which unfortunately stops at the letter L. 3669 folios.

A Dictionary of the Members of Parliament in the Tudor and Stuart Periods arranged in alphabetical order of counties from Bedfordshire to Devonshire. 353 folios.

Notes on the Members of Parliament for London from Henry III. to George IV. 351 folios.

Miscellaneous papers on 561 folios, including a rough draft of the letters A and B of the Dictionary, and a list of Parliaments with various details as to their convocation from Edward I. to Victoria.

Notes for the Dictionary of Members of Parliament in 6 folio volumes, covering the Alphabet from Abarow to York.

Notes for the Dictionary of Members of Parliament in 2 folio

volumes, in which members are arranged according to their constituencies, under counties in alphabetical order.

Members of Parliament of London from 1265 to 1727. Mr. Pink's own copy of "Members of Parliament, Part I. : Parliaments of England, 1213-1702." Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1st March, 1878. This has been interleaved and considerably enriched with corrections and additions.

In 1889 Mr. Pink in collaboration with the Rev. Alfred B. Bevan, published in an edition limited to 80 copies, "The Parliamentary Representation of Lancashire (county and borough), 1258-1885, with biographical and genealogical notes of the members, etc." The Library also possesses a copy of this volume.

The following communication from Dr. W. J. Rutherford, through some unfortunate mistake, was only partially printed in our last issue :

THE HITTITES IN
LACONIA.

The argument by which Dr. Rendel Harris established the existence of Hittite colonies throughout Palestine, Libya and Crete appears to be capable of further extension, though one may suggest that he would grant that the rule *che va piano va sano* must be applied even to geographical researches of this sort. I will, then, only venture one modest addition to his rapidly accumulating series of identifications.

Perhaps the most striking of his results refer to the eastern end of the island of Crete and the not very remote island of Karpathos : as regards Crete there is a concurrence of ancient and of modern geographers in finding a series of place-names suggestive of such Hittite cultural contact or migration. Reference to the map of Crete in the *Geographi Graeci Minores* shows such names as 'Ereia (modern Sitia), 'Iravos (modern Sitanos), a promontory called 'Eteia (with modern equivalent Cetia) and a cape Sitia. These names evidently belong to a common type, and their particular forms show that Dr. Harris need not have shown hesitation in admitting similar ones in the Gulf of Lyons.

The suggestion is that there is not only the Hittite place-name *Heteia* in the east of Crete, but that another similarly named locality may be found on the European mainland itself, in Laconia ; with the further suggestion that what holds good for the one is probably the case with regard to the latter also.

In the *Lives of the Philosophers* (I. 9) of Diogenes Laertius we obtain information as to the so-called Wise Men of Greece, among whom, in particular, there was a little-known worthy named Myson. The Delphic oracle was the authority for his inclusion in this illustrious company, but some said that the oracle had spoken with an uncertain sound—as it was lamentably in the habit of doing!—merely defining the newly canonised sage as, “a certain man of Hēteia” (Ἡτεῖόν τινα φῆμι). Two oracular ambiguities were thus left for discussion, the identity of the man and the location of his birth-place; so that the question was raised as to the meaning of *Heteia*. Parmenides said that it was the name of the deme of Laconia from which Myson came. Sosikrates, however, in his *Genealogies* said (on the authority of Hermippus, apparently) that Myson was a Hetæan on his father’s side, but by his mother’s a Chenean. Euthypron, the son of Heraclides of Pontus, said that Myson must have been a Cretan Hetea (Ἡτεῖα) being a city of Crete. Thus far Diogenes.

The variant interpretations require us to recognise, with Parmenides, the place-name Hetæa in Laconia, as well as its doublet in Crete; and since the latter appears to have been a Hittite foundation, a similar inference may be made for the former; while we must be prepared to admit the possibility of there having been, at a sufficiently remote period in the historic past, a focus of Hittite influence in the Peloponnesus in addition to those on the shores of the Gulf of Lyons.

It may be of interest to some of our readers to learn that William Law, author of the *Serious Call* and other devotional and mystical works, founded in the year 1753 at his native village of King’s Cliffe near Peterborough a lending library of “books of piety.” After his death, which took place eight years later, this library was increased by the addition from his own shelves of more than twice the original number of books. Nearly all these six hundred and odd volumes still remain in a remarkably good state of preservation on the walls of a pleasant room in Law’s old School House, now amalgamated with his almshouses for aged women, the whole being the property of the Governors of the Law and Hutcheson Charity.

Forty years ago the Library was carefully arranged and catalogued by two scholarly clergymen, one being a member of the distinguished Wordsworth family. A new edition of this Catalogue has just been

WILLIAM
LAW'S
LENDING
LIBRARY.

printed by the Governors. Its 48 pages contain a detailed list of all the books, with an account of the Library and a number of notes of reference to the standard biography of William Law. Over a score of separate works date from the 16th century, 250 works from the 17th century, and the rest from the years 1700-1760. Some of the books are in Latin and French, while German, Greek, Italian, Dutch, and Hebrew are represented by a few volumes. Among the most prominent subjects and authors are the early Christian Fathers, the mystics from Dionysius to Boehme, the Bible, Chemistry (or Alchemy), the Nonjurors, and the Cambridge Platonists. Many rare and interesting books are included.

In the present issue will be found a further instalment of the series of texts of Christian documents in Syriac, Garshūni and Arabic, which are being edited with translations into English and critical apparatus by Dr. A. Mingana, preceded by introductions from the pen of Dr. Rendel Harris, and published under the title: "Woodbrooke Studies."

NEW APOC-
RYPHAL
CHRISTIAN
DOCU-
MENTS.

The first of the two documents dealt with in the present issue is an apocryphon dealing with the Resurrection of our Lord and the lamentations of His mother over His body on the occasion of His crucifixion, in which she has exchanged personality with the Magdalene. The authorship of the present document is attributed to Cyriacus, the Coptic Bishop of Behnesa, better known to-day as Oxyrhynchus; but the real author is none other than the great Gamaliel, who often speaks in the first person of the events to which it refers. To quote from Dr. Mingana's prefatory note, it seems to constitute another link in the apocryphal chain of the "Acta Pilati" or the "Gospel of Nicodemus."

The second document consists of an apocryphal story of the martyrdom of Pilate, and is concerned with the spiritual history of Pontius Pilate, his elevation to the dignity of canonisation, and his appearance as a glorified saint in the calendar of the Coptic Church.

The following titles represent a selection of the work of current literature which have been added to the shelves of the library since the appearance of our last issue.

ACCES-
SIONS TO
THE LIB-
RARY.

ART AND ARCHITECTURE: Bliss (D. P.), "A History of wood-engraving with 120 reproductions from Dürer to Gordon

Craig," 4to ; Boehn (Max von), "Miniatures et silhouettes," 240 illus., 4to ; Borenus (T.), and Tristram (E. W.), "English medieval painting," 101 plates, 4to ; Brown (G. Baldwin), "The art of the cave dweller : a study of the earliest activities of man," 8vo ; Contenau (G.), "L'art de l'Asie Occidentale ancienne," 8vo ; "Corpus nummorum Italicorum, tomus 10 : Emilia, Bologna e Ferrara, Ravenna e Rimini," Fol. ; "Corpus vasorum antiquorum : France : Collection Mouret, Pays Bas : Musée Scheurleer, Italia : Villa Giulia in Rome," 4to ; Doelger (F. J.), "Die Fischdenkmaler in der fruchristlichen Plastik, Malerei u. Klein-kunst," Band 4, 4to ; Enlart (C.), "Les monuments des croisés dans la Royaume de Jérusalem : architecture religieuse et civile," 2 vols., 4to ; Esdaile (K. A.), "English monumental sculpture since the Renaissance," 8vo ; "Flemish and Belgian Art : Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition at Burlington House, 1927 : edited by Sir M. Conway," 127 plates, Fol. ; Giafferri (P. L. de), "Histoire du costume masculin français de l'an 420 à l'an 1870," Fol. ; Hardy (G.), "L'art nègre : l'art animiste des noirs d'Afrique," 8vo ; Jahrbuch der Einbandkunst, "Hgbn. von H. Loubier und E. Klette," Jahg. 1 (1927), 8vo ; Lasteyrie (R. de), "L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque Gothique," tome 2, 8vo ; Leidinger (G.), "Miniaturen aus Handschriften der Bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in Muenchen," Band 9, 4to ; Lemoisne (P. A.), "Les xylographes du XIV et du XV siècle au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Nationale," 3 vols., Fol. ; Lehrs (Max), "Geschichte und kritischer Katalog des deutschen, niederländischen und französischen Kupferstichs im 15 Jahrhundert," Band 6, 4to ; Leroux (D.), "La vie de Bernard Palissy," 8vo ; McCurdy (E.), "The Mind of Leonardo da Vinci," 8vo ; Marçais (B. G.), "Manuel d'art Musulman : l'architecture : Tunisie, Algérie, Maroc, Espagne, Sicile : tome 2 : Du 13^e au 19^e siècle," 8vo ; Meier-Graffe (J.), "Cézanne," with 106 plates, 4to ; Oliver (E.), Hermal (G.), and others, "Manuel de l'amateur de reliures armoriées françaises," 4to ; Pfister (K.), "Irische Buchmalerei : Nordeuropa und Christentum in der Kunst des frühen Mittelalters," 4to ; Reinach (Salmon), "Répertoire de l'art quaternaire," Paris, 1913, 8vo ; Renouard (P.), "Les marques typographiques parisiens des 15^e et 16^e siècles," 4to ; Rinaldis (A. de), "Naples Angevine," 8vo ; Schramm (A.), "Der Bilderschmuck der Frühdrucke," Band 10 : Die Drucker in Luebeck, Fol.

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Reform des Jahres 1418," 8vo ; Chambers (Sir E. K.), "Arthur of Britain," 8vo ; Cartellieri (Alex.), "Festschrift zum sechzigsten Geburtstag dargebracht von Freunden und Schülern," 8vo ; Dawson (C.), "The age of the gods : a study in the origins of culture in prehistoric Europe and the ancient East," 8vo ; Diaz del Castillo (B.), "The discovery and conquest of Mexico, 1517-1521. . . . Translated by A. P. Maudsley," 8vo ; Evans (Sir Arthur), "Essays in archæology ; presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his 75th birthday," 8vo ; Evans (I. H. N.), "Papers on the ethnology and archæology of the Malay Peninsula," 8vo ; Fruin (R.), "The siege and relief of Leyden in 1574, translated by G. Trevelyan," 8vo ; Geary (Sir W. N.), "Nigeria under British rule," 8vo ; Godard (A.), and others, "Les antiquités Bouddhiques de Bāmyān (Afghanistan)," 4to ; Gregorovius (F.), "Athen und Athenais : Schicksale einer Stadt und einer Kaiserin im Byzantinischen Mittelalter," 8vo ; Henricus de Hervordia, "Liber de rebus memorabilioribus sive chronicon, edidit. . . . A. Potthast," Gottingae, 1859, 4to ; Hopkins (R. T.), "This London : its taverns, haunts, and memories," 8vo ; Holmes (T. Rice), "The Architect of the Roman Empire, 44-27 B.C.," 8vo ; Hose (C.), "Fifty years of romance and research, or a jungle-wallah at large (Borneo)," 8vo ; Hine (R. L.), "The history of Hitchin," vol. 1, 8vo ; Iorga (N.), "Essai de synthèse de l'histoire de l'humanité, tomes 3-4 : époques moderne et contemporaine," 8vo ; Jaussen (J. A.), "Coutumes Palestiniennes, 1 : Naplouse et son district," 8vo ; John of Salisbury, "The Statesman's book, translated with introduction by J. Dickinson," 8vo ; Liebermann (F.), "Ungedruckte Anglo-Normannische Geschichts Quellen," Strassburg, 1879, 8vo ; Lot (F.), "La fin du monde antique et le début du moyen age," 8vo ; Marshall (John) in India, 1668-1672, edited by Shafaat Ahmad Khan," 8vo ; Mattingly (H.), "Roman coins from the earliest times to the fall of the Western Empire," 8vo ; Meech (T. C.), "The Generation : a history of Great Britain from 1900 to 1926," 2 vols., 8vo ; Moir (J. R.), "The Antiquity of Man in East Anglia," 8vo ; Morgan (J. de) "La pré-histoire orientale, 3 : L'asie antérieure," 8vo ; "Northern Notes and Queries of the Scottish Antiquary, 1866-1903," 17 vols, 4to ; Osten (H. von der), "Exploration in Hittite Asia Minor : a preliminary report," 8vo ; "I papiri ieratici del Museo di Torino : il giornale della necropoli di Tebe, a cura di G. Botti e T. E. Peet," fasc. 1, 4to ;

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THE ART OF JANE AUSTEN.¹

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EVERY one likes to pay a debt of gratitude if he can ; and that is why I have seized this opportunity to record a lifelong devotion to Miss Austen. When I was an undergraduate at Balliol, it was the custom (and it may be the custom still) for the College to set an essay every week to be done by every one in his first year, and the first such essay I did for my tutor was on Jane Austen's novels, and I chose *Mansfield Park* to make her acquaintance by. Since that time I have read all the novels over and over again, still forgetting them according to my wont, and still renewing the old delight. When I am asked which of them I like the best, I am apt to answer, the one I have read last. Exception has to be made against *Sense and Sensibility*, but a recent reading only convinces me of the extraordinary merits even of that work. In my heart of hearts I know that I love *Persuasion* best, and I shall give my reasons later. But except for my devotion, I have no other claim to speak, and still less to be listened to, upon Miss Austen, being no practised critic of literature, but only dumbly attached to a few great writers, of whom she is one. And except that I have read Mr. Elton in his *Survey*, and the admirable paper of Mr. A. C. Bradley in the *Essays of the English Association for 1911* (from which with proper acknowledgments I shall borrow freely) and the introductions to the "Everyman" edition, I know almost nothing of what has been written on Jane Austen as a writer, and have deliberately refrained from reading the

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library on the 14th of March, 1928.

most recent writings upon her, such as Mr. Brimley Johnson's book,¹ and Miss Spurgeon's paper, deliberately, lest I should find myself left with nothing of my own to say.

Yet for one who is concerned not so much with the direct appreciation of literature, as with questions of æsthetics, Miss Austen offers a natural and obvious starting-point and subject. She is admittedly a consummate artist, and at the same time her range of subjects is the narrowest. "Three or four families in a country village," she writes to her niece Anna (*Letters*, ii. 351, No. 87)² "is the very thing to work on," and this is for the most part the substance of her own novels. She spoke herself (*Life*, p. 377³) "of the little bit (two inches wide) of ivory, on which I work with so fine a brush as produces little effect after much labour." But this comparison with miniature painting is a singular misdescription on her part. The miniaturist takes a large subject and paints it on a small surface, "crowds all his spirit in little" as Browning says. Miss Austen takes a considerable canvas—even the shortest of the six novels extends to two volumes—and paints a little subject. The only thing that is apposite in the comparison is the delicate and subtle workmanship both of herself and the miniaturist. She uses the methods of miniature over the canvas of the painter, and she succeeds because she is neither painter nor dramatist but is writing novels. Extreme minuteness in a picture distracts from the unity of the design, because a picture is not drawn out in time but is stationary, and even if it represents motion conveys only a significant moment. A drama is drawn out in time, but the characters of it are left to tell their own story, while the novelist, according to Plato's well-known description of epic poetry, blends narrative and drama, allowing the persons, like Homer, at intervals to speak for themselves. Miss Austen is so great

¹ From a notice I have seen I expect I should find I owed much to his book if I had read it. I have of course used the *Memoir* and the valuable later version of it, the *Life and Letters* by W. and R. A. Austen Leigh (1913), which is naturally much fuller than the *Memoir*, though it lacks the charm of that direct testimony.

² References to the *Letters* are to the Winchester edition of the works (Edinburgh, 1912) but the number of the letter is added. References to the novels are to the paging of the "Everyman" editions.

³ Letter to Edward Austen. Also *Memoir*, ¹ p. 212; ² p. 153. I owe those references to Mr. R. W. Chapman.

an artist, because within her very limited range of subject, her work is so nicely adapted to her subject.

For what makes a work of art beautiful is just this adjustment of its material, *i.e.* its style, to its subject. The subject may be small or even trifling, or it may be grave and splendid. Beauty lies not in the choice of the subject but in the use of the material, whatever that material may be, whether words or pigments or stone, so as to render the truth and significance of the subject. That can never be done by successful imitation or mere faithful description of the subject. There enters into it always the magic by which the artist transforms his subject; he would otherwise be practising science and not fine art. But it needs close observation such as science also requires. When as is most often the case the subject is some piece of human nature it needs the minute observation and acquaintance with men, on account of which Molière used to be called *le contemplateur*; and above all, the sympathy and insight which supplements and anticipates and may even dispense with direct observation, which makes Shakespeare so great a master. The truth which the artist conveys is not altogether the truth which he discovers but which he makes. He may use many means of finding his truth; sometimes it is his depth of passion, sometimes his amplitude of thought; sometimes, as with Miss Austen, the transforming spirit is humour. Her subjects are rarely, perhaps only in one instance, exalted; they are not mean, but they are mere ordinary human nature in persons with no great range of interest, for the most part the common intercourse of persons in middle-class society in the country, living the ordinary domestic life, making love, visiting, engaged mostly in the pleasures of life, with a little vice to chequer the ordinary course of virtuous commonplace existence, not too bright or good for human nature's daily food, not frivolous and not over-serious, but always alive; never a dull surface, but stirred by the ripple of alert if placid adventure. She is so great an artist because with an unfailing skill of words she can so weave her story that all these minutiae of conduct and incident and character fall into an intimate design, and her delicate portrayals of character, like Lady Bertram's, or the clear-cut delineation of reserved strength like Mr. Knightley's, or rollicking braggartry like John Thorpe's, or the malicious portraits of Mrs. Norris, or the good-humoured absurdity of Miss Bates, or the vulgar angling of Ann Steele for her doctor whom we are glad to

think she did not land (*Memoir*, ed. 1883, p. 148) ; all these in their variety and in their several places enhance one another and create in soft tints unified portions of her human comedy, which is also *the* human comedy on the level which she knew and depicts.

These outstanding features of Miss Austen, her exquisite art and the limited range within which she draws human nature with such variety and discrimination, stand in the way of a just estimate of her rank as a writer. She suffers from two different kinds of judges ; the indifferent, and the fanatical admirers. Some she leaves cold through her coolness and want of passion and her classical decorousness of air, the tameness of her incidents, her detachment from the larger interests of her own day ; their latter-day blood asks for the play of strong passion and romance, for vividness and heat ; they seek romance and cannot easily think themselves back into that quiet England when the eighteenth century was changing over to the nineteenth, when there were no trains in the country and few newspapers, when people made love much as they do to-day, but at once talked more about it, and were more circumspect and decorous in their general behaviour, when women still led the sheltered life, and having fewer general concerns were naturally absorbed in the most important of all private ones. Such judges may recognise her excellence but they turn to Charlotte Brontë or Meredith. They do no harm to Miss Austen ; they are only insensitive. *Non ragionam di lor.*

Her worst judges are those who exalt her above her proper place, and put her on a level just below Shakespeare. Macaulay began the habit, but temperately, and dwelling upon her skill in the discrimination even of characters of the same profession, such as the three clergymen, Edmund Bertram and Henry Tilney and Edward Ferrers. I have known lovers of Miss Austen outraged at the statement that she is not so great a writer as Scott. Now Sir Walter and Miss Austen themselves understood each other. She writes jestingly of him (L. ii. 356, No. 88), "Walter Scott has no business to write novels, especially good ones. It is not fair. He has fame and profit enough as a poet and should not be taking the bread out of the mouths of other people. I do not like him and do not mean to like *Waverley* if I can help it, but fear I must." And every one knows how Sir Walter wrote of her : "The big Bow-Wow strain I can do myself like any now going ; but the exquisite touch which renders ordinary commonplace

characters interesting from the truth of the description and the sentiment, is denied to me. What a pity such a gifted creature died so early" (Lockhart's *Life*, vol. vi. ch. 7). Now I do not hesitate to say that Scott is inferior to Miss Austen as an artist, is indeed often careless, but is a greater writer. Shakespeare himself is full of passages that fall short of beauty, and Miss Austen rarely does. The dull episode in *Persuasion* of Mrs. Smith she did not live to revise, and it is natural to think she might have done so. And yet the four novels which remain when *Northanger Abbey* and *Sense and Sensibility* are excluded leave her still one of our greatest artists and yet hardly among our very greatest figures in literature.

For there is a distinction in art as there is in morals between two orders of attainment. In morals there is the order of goodness, in which every good act is equally good, and the order of perfection in which some acts, though not better than others, are more perfect or greater. The widow's mite is the classical example of the first order. It is as good as the disinterested endowment by a rich man of a hospital. But it is not so splendid. In like manner there is beauty in art and there is greatness, which I hesitate to call the order of perfection, because we commonly speak of excellent art as perfect. Miss Austen for instance is typical of the perfect art. Beauty is beauty wherever it is found, and no matter what the subject. But the subject makes a difference to the greatness of the art. "Drink to me only with thine eyes" is perhaps as beautiful in its kind as "The baseless fabric of this vision" and "The glories of our blood and state" are in their respective kinds. But it is less great or splendid. And so when we are estimating the greatness of a writer, we have assuredly to take into the account not merely the beauty but the intrinsic value of the subjects, and our judgments are always mixed. Beauty being attained, there is room for further appraisement. It may be difficult to perform, it may be impossible to say in particular cases which subject counts most in importance; a light subject may feed a human want as valid as one with high seriousness. Yet there is still some weight in the consideration which puts tragedy higher than comedy, and of two comedies there is more greatness in *Le Misanthrope* than in *Le Tartuffe*, and in *Much Ado* than in *Love's Labour's Lost*, over and above the more complete attainment of artistic beauty in the first of this second pair. Again, greatness in the topic may compensate for

defect in the art, just as perfection in the art may compensate for poverty in the subject. But isolated works of art hardly abide comparison. It is when we take writers as a whole and compare them one with another that we are compelled to grade them according to their weight of subject, their depth of insight, their feeling for what is important in the world of man and nature.

I take this to be the element of truth in the plea that art cannot be separated from conduct. It is wholly false if it is understood to mean that beauty depends on conduct, that there may not be as exquisite beauty in a base or vulgar subject as in a noble one. Still it remains true that literature, to confine myself to that art, is about something. The poet is no mere artificer of melodious and unmeaning words. And the greatness of a poet in the rank of poets cannot ignore the subjects with which he occupies himself. He is not only an artist but a man. His work as a man is rightly judged by his total performance. It is because Miss Austen is so supreme an artist that she holds so high a place in our literature. But when we turn to Scott we find a range of incident, of passion, of human insight, in the splendour of which we forget his defective art where it has failed and reckon him, I must think, on a higher level than Miss Austen, as what William James called a folio edition of humanity. Perhaps in admiring her sanely we do her more justice than in making claims for her which in the end cannot be maintained. A great and adorable writer she remains, too great to be merely the idol of a sect or coterie.

The truth is that to bring Miss Austen into comparison with Shakespeare is far-fetched and almost inept. Mr. Bradley has observed that only her minor characters have any Shakespearean likeness, Miss Bates for instance. He has made, I think, one omission, the one character in which she remotely approaches romantic passion, Anne Elliot, one of the noblest women in our literature. Anne has the weakness of having yielded her judgment to that of her cautious and unimaginative and rather stupid friend Lady Russell and to have played for safety in rejecting Frederick Wentworth while he was still a young naval officer who had not yet acquired a competence out of prize-money. Much may be forgiven to a heroine of that time, brought up in habits of deference to her elders and of careful prudence in the choice of a partner for life. Apart from that forgivable blemish in her character, she is a figure of heroic fidelity which is with some

justice comparable with Imogen. She gives to *Persuasion* the air of seriousness in the comedy which makes that novel in my opinion the greatest (though not necessarily the most delightful) of Miss Austen's novels, and a glory of English literature. If we are really to compare the classical and unromantic Jane with any other great writer, it should rather be with Molière, and I believe the comparison is really fruitful.

Mr. Bradley has reminded us of Jane Austen's fondness in her youth for making plays for the domestic circle, and her regular visits to the theatre whenever she was in London with her brother Henry, and has noted how like the novels are to comedies. Perhaps this is true of all novels that they are dramas, only that, as I said before, the novelist helps out his characters with narrative. Some are comedies, some tragedies, some are of a mixed order. The novel has so largely replaced the drama, partly for external reasons, that it reaches a larger audience than a play possibly can and satisfies better a general want; partly I suppose that a good play is a more difficult form of art, for the novelist can explain the minds of his persons in their workings, he is in the interests of art a psychologist, while the dramatist must make them reveal themselves in their undissected personalities. At any rate, if ever a novelist was a dramatist it is Miss Austen, and all her novels are comedies, except *Persuasion* and perhaps *Mansfield Park*, which are what can only be called by the generic name of plays or dramas. And I choose to think of her along with Molière because he is the great pattern of the classical comedy, though I do not suppose she knew him well. I have not the learning nor the skill to contrast her with the other English novelists. She is utterly unlike the sentimental Richardson whom she knew; nor is there much affinity between her and Fielding. She knew Fielding well, and when she chose to imagine playfully that Tom Lefroy was inclined to pay attentions to her, she complained to her sister Cassandra of his wearing a very light coloured morning coat in imitation of Tom Jones, "his one fault," she says, "which time will I trust entirely remove" (L. i. 223, No. 1), and adds later that if he asks her, he will have to give up his white coat. She has obviously been affected by Fanny Burney, and praises a friend because "she admires *Camilla*, and drinks no cream in her tea" (L. i. 237, No. 6). She laughs at Mrs. Radcliffe and the other horrid tales, which Isabella Thorpe recommends to

Catherine Morland, assuring her that they are all horrid, like the entrancing *Udolpho*. It is Miss Burney, I suppose, who is her real predecessor with *Evelina*, which the best judges of that day, Johnson and Burke, so highly praised, and some of Miss Austen's vulgar characters have their predecessors in the Brangtons. All these things are matters for the critic and historian. Still less can I attempt to trace her connection with the novelists of the nineteenth century from whom she differs so greatly, even from Thackeray. I am concerned with her art, and it is worth while to think of her for a moment along with Molière.

Like Molière's, her comedy is the comedy of manners, in which common sense shatters the absurdities or pretensions of the comic personages. Sometimes good sense is embodied in one of the characters, like Mr. Knightley in *Emma* sardonically reserving his disapproval of Emma's passion for arranging matches between unsuitable persons; or in *Pride and Prejudice* Elizabeth Bennet smiling at her sister Jane's inveterate belief in the virtue of others, or the admirable Gardiners, or even Mr. Bennet, the sarcastic and mordant judge of his wife and of all his daughters but Elizabeth, and at the same time too indolent to reform them, and perhaps giving up as a bad job the attempt to make Mrs. Bennet understand the meaning of an entail; for she, like Mrs. Allen in *Northanger Abbey*, "was one of that numerous class of females whose society can raise no other emotion than surprise at there being any men in the world who like them well enough to marry them" (p. 6); or again, Elinor in *Sense and Sensibility*. Most often good sense is embodied in the author herself or in her readers, taking, either of them, the part of the commenting chorus in a Greek play. Miss Austen clearly loves Elinor and Elizabeth and says so in her letters. But even when there is no one there to represent her, you feel her presence, watching with her detached good humour, not untouched by malice, the antics of her folk. Often it is circumstance itself which as it develops turns the comic situation into a more serious issue; as when with the highest art of construction, Emma's last absurd attempt to direct Harriet's affections to Frank Churchill, while Harriet imagines she is being encouraged to aspire to Mr. Knightley, reveals to her that she is in love with Mr. Knightley herself. Mrs. MacCunn has in a paper on Molière's ladies—Henriette, Leonor, Éliante, even the coquette Célimène of *Le*

Misanthrope, and others—compared them aptly with Jane Austen's women where she finds one to represent herself (*Cornhill Magazine*, April, 1925). In either author one can observe at its plainest the operation of the comic spirit, the general social standard of conduct asserting itself against deviations from it in ripples of wit and humour, dwelling in both cases rather on the foibles of men than on their vices. It is not often that Molière lashes his subjects as in *Le Tartuffe*; and Miss Austen in the last chapter of *Mansfield Park* says: "Let other pens dwell on guilt and misery. I quit such odious subjects as soon as I can, impatient to restore everybody, not greatly in fault themselves, to tolerable comfort, and to have done with all the rest." (It must, however, be remembered that there had been a good deal before which made for dishonour among the Crawfords and the Bertram daughters, and some actual achievement of it.) Even Mrs. Norris in the end, as Mr. Bradley says, redeems herself by devotion to the unfortunate Maria, though it is added with acid humour "that it may be supposed that their tempers became their mutual punishment." Altogether a pretty adjustment of well-doing and ill-doing, as befits a high comedian.

There is another interesting feature in the reference to Molière, that the growth and development of his art throws light on the maturing of Miss Austen's. Molière's comedy, as is well known, had its origin in farce, and to the end he relieved his writing of serious comedy with exuberant and outrageous farce. From farce he passed through the comedy of intrigue and circumstance to that of character. And as he grew, character more and more ceased to be of the abstract type and became full-blooded personality tinged with some prevailing colour, like Harpagon in *L'Avare* or the great figure of Alceste. Now in Miss Austen in the smaller range within which she moves we can note these same tendencies.

The novels fall into two groups, the first written at Steventon up to 1797, containing *Pride and Prejudice*, *Sense and Sensibility*, and *Northanger Abbey*; the other group, containing the other three, were written between 1811 and 1816. Between these two periods, while Miss Austen was living at Bath or Southampton, before she returned to the Hampshire country at Chawton, she wrote apparently nothing. But there is a marked difference in the art of the two periods. When she resumed writing in her comparative maturity, she had

passed to high and concrete comedy from abstract comedy and farce. The first group includes *Pride and Prejudice*, which is the most popular of all the novels, and undoubtedly the most brilliant. It is obviously the finest of the first group and I must confess to some consciousness of recklessness when I plead that considered as a work of art it is inferior to *Persuasion* and in certain respects even to *Mansfield Park* and *Emma*. The order in which these earlier novels was written appears to be somewhat doubtful, for though *Pride and Prejudice* was written before the other two in their present form, they seem to have existed in earlier drafts under different names. But all three have certain characters in common. *Northanger Abbey* is little more than exuberant farce, and some at least of the persons are embodied abstractions. Even Catherine, lovable and charming as she is, is only a romantic schoolgirl, incarnating the taste for a particular sort of romantic literature. Isabella Thorpe and her uproarious brother are even more abstract. The serious Miss Tilney and the gay clergyman brother who are the relief of good sense to these comic personages are admirably done, but their father, again, the General, is a caricature. It all reads like a delicious squib done by a writer of genius in an overflow of spirits, like some of Molière's farces. *Sense and Sensibility* in its very title betrays the abstractness of conception which is its outstanding defect. Even Elinor, though on the side of good sense and therefore beloved by Miss Austen herself, suffers somewhat, but she is far more real and concrete than Marianne, the Lydia Languish of this comedy. It is not the tediousness of the impeccable Colonel Brandon that makes our interest fainter than in the other novels. For my part I delight in the book, and I am sure that if Miss Austen had written nothing else we should feel her to have been a very considerable writer. Who can forget, or if, as I always do, he forgets, can fail to revel in the minor comedy of it, the sense of duty to his own immediate family which compels Mr. John Dashwood to listen to his wife and put a limit on his intended benefactions to his mother and sisters; the perfect picture of Mrs. Jennings; the humour reflected in the comments of the wise Elinor upon Mrs. Dashwood's plans for extending her cottage when she has saved money; the overflowing hospitality of Sir John Middleton or Marianne's shrinking from the idea of marrying an old man of thirty-five who wore a flannel

waistcoat? The major comedy remains too much the contrast of abstract types.¹

And how shall any one dare to find defects in *Pride and Prejudice*? In the face of a character like Elizabeth's, which is both real and enchantingly drawn, of Jane, whom Mr. Bradley praises so justly, of the sententious Mary Bennet, from whom I shall quote presently, of Mr. Bennet and his immortal wife, cavilling seems sheer insensibility. And yet, the famous proposal of Mr. Collins is really farcical, as any one can see who contrasts it with the true comedy of his courtship of Charlotte Lucas. Mr. Collins is as much a caricature as Mr. Stiggins in *Pickwick*. Even the great scene between Elizabeth and Lady de Burgh is strained beyond probability. But the real fault lies in the picture of Darcy, a figure drawn to embody pride. He becomes a living man only when his passion breaks in upon his pride and he offers himself to Elizabeth. And yet the terms of his declaration, while they maintain his abstract type, are as impossible as his rudeness when he declines to dance with Elizabeth in her hearing. True enough his pride is explained away as the result of his upbringing, and he turns out in the end to be an estimable person. But the blot remains. When Miss Austen had reached her artistic prime she ceased to name her books by the contrasts of virtues and vices, and she showed a correct instinct, for she has ceased to deal in abstractions and her comedy has become that of the real world. I do not say that we are wrong in preferring *Pride and Prejudice* to all the others, I am only pleading that as a work of art it falls below the later three, though more brilliant in details than any of them. It is no great crime where all is art of a high order sometimes to prefer the less consummate art because of its extraneous enchantment. But who would say that in themselves for all their brilliance *Romeo and Juliet* and *Midsummer Night's Dream* are equal masterpieces with *Macbeth* and *Much Ado*; or would rank *L'École des Femmes* with *Les Femmes Savantes*?

In the three later novels we are, as I have said, in the real world of flesh and blood, concrete figures moving about in the life which

¹ In the early *Lady Susan* the chief character, brilliantly as she is drawn, is a mere abstraction, too wicked (even if delightful) to be credible; and the author was well advised to leave it an unpublished effort to fledge her wings. Luckily she preserved it.

Miss Austen knew. *Emma* is I suppose nearest, in point of manner though not of time, to *Pride and Prejudice*, and hardly inferior in the brilliance of its humour and wit. True that Jane Fairfax is shadowy, and Emma and the silly Harriet repeat themselves a little too much, but they are admirably portrayed, and the work is a unity of design, secured by the pervading presence of Mr. Knightley, and I need not recur to the great solution which is brought about by Emma's own absurdity. And there are, by the way, the delights of Mr. Woodhouse and Miss Bates (who again is not mere garrulousness but a person of real and deep feeling, a genuine character) and Mrs. Elton, who is a real advance upon Lucy Steele and still more upon Isabella Thorpe. One of the few good things which will be remembered of George IV. is that he liked Miss Austen's novels and graciously permitted *Emma* to be dedicated to him.

Mansfield Park is much more of a story than any of the others, and I am one of those who would place it above *Emma*, though I admit there is some absurdity in placing the novels in this fashion in order of merit. Miss Austen if you read her at all you know so intimately that it is almost impossible to avoid having preferences ; and I wish merely to justify mine. The usual question is whether one prefers *Mansfield Park* or *Pride and Prejudice*, but that question I have discussed. The humour of *Mansfield Park* is less ebullient than in *Emma*, but there is the exquisite contrast of Mrs. Norris and Lady Bertram, who is perhaps the most altogether successful piece of pure humour in the novels. I cannot help giving a single example. When Sir Thomas returns from his long absence in Antigua, Lady Bertram's feelings "were so warmed by his sudden arrival, as to place her nearer agitation than she had been for the last twenty years. She had been almost fluttered for a few minutes, and still remained so sensibly animated as to put away her work, move Pug from her side, and give all her attention and all the rest of the sofa to her husband. . . . She began particularly to feel how dreadfully she must have missed him and how impossible it would have been for her to bear a lengthened absence" (p. 148). There is no falling off of the wit but it takes a more subdued tone. The contrast of the Bertram household under the efficient supervision of Mrs. Norris with the helplessness of the other sister's ménage at Portsmouth is incomparable. But it is not so much the details, as the movement of the complicated tale of

intrigue and character which is the merit of the novel. For my own part, while no one can pretend to be interested in her as much as in Emma or Elizabeth, I love Fanny and the long drawn-out story of her timid and faithful soul. And even Edmund, who inclines at times to be a trifle priggish, is a vital person, and is to boot a first-rate picture of the better type of parson—such as Miss Austen was acquainted with in her own family—and the conflict in his mind between his love of the flippant Miss Crawford and his conception of his profession which she despises is beyond praise. There is, it must be admitted, a certain dullness as compared with the sparkling *Pride and Prejudice* or *Emma*, but the construction and the interplay of its characters, and the constant relief of the serious tone by the gaiety of some of the persons and the comic absurdity of the others make it a first-rate novel.

Persuasion, the last of the novels, seems to me to be on the whole the finest of them as a work of art, because of the deeper note introduced into it through the character of Anne Elliot and the consequent greater difficulty of the task it solves. Possibly the approach of her end, which was to follow in the next year, may have cast a shadow of gravity on Miss Austen's mind ;¹ the tone is more "solemn and serene," to use Shelley's words, than in the other novels. But it is more natural to say that maturity disclosed in her case more fully the seriousness which is always present in great writers of comedy, like Molière or Shakespeare or Meredith or Dickens. There is no failing of power ; the old humour is there, but gentler and more subtle. There is as Mr. Bradley says (who, however, prefers *Pride and Prejudice*) a more delicate balance of the humorous element and the interest of the love story. The elder Musgroves and the Crofts are delightful creations,² and even Sir Walter Elliot overcomes, though he betrays, the early tendency to caricature. And there is the notable comedy of situation in the history of the heart-broken Captain Benwick, who first begins to fall in love with Anne and when she leaves Lyme to return to the Musgrove family at Uppercross falls in love with Louisa recovering from her accident, and thereby saves

¹ As Mr. Bradley thinks.

² Mr. Bradley quotes what the Admiral says of the two Miss Musgroves, "And very nice young ladies they both are ; I hardly know one from the other" (p. 77).

Frederick Wentworth to return to his old allegiance. Against this background of comedy stand out the heroic figure of Anne and the hardly less engaging portrait of Wentworth, indignant at Anne's prudent rejection of his earlier suit, bent on finding his happiness elsewhere, and lucky enough to find himself free in the end to follow his true attachment. I must quote the great passage which describes the feelings of the two lovers, which it should be observed does not occur in the first draft of the final courtship, and is therefore among the latest things that Miss Austen wrote. Charles Musgrove has invited Wentworth to join him and Anne and see her back to her home in Bath :—

“There could not be an objection. There could only be a most proper alacrity, a most obliging compliance for public view ; and smiles reined in and spirits dancing in private rapture. In half a minute Charles was at the bottom of Union Street again, and the other two proceeding together ; and soon words enough had passed between them to decide their direction towards the comparatively quiet and retired gravel walk, where the power of conversation would make the present hour a blessing indeed ; and prepare it for all the immortality which the happiest recollections of their own future lives could bestow. There they exchanged again those feelings and promises which had once before seemed to secure everything, but which had been followed by so many, many years of division and estrangement. There they returned again into the past, more exquisitely happy, perhaps, in their re-union, than when it had been first projected ; more tender, more tried, more fixed in a knowledge of each other's character, truth, and attachment ; more equal to act, more justified in acting. And there, as they slowly paced the gradual ascent, heedless of every group around them, seeing neither sauntering politicians, bustling house-keepers, flirting girls, nor nursery-maids and children, they could indulge in those retrospections and acknowledgments, and especially in those explanations of what had directly preceded the present moment, which were so poignant and so ceaseless in interest. All the little variations of the last week were gone through ; and of yesterday and to-day there could scarcely be an end ” (p. 205).

Persuasion has blemishes in the story of Mrs. Smith and Mr. Elliot, which has already been noticed. But with all its faults it is an incomparable work.

Her characters are drawn so vividly that it is not surprising to hear that, like other artists with their personages, Miss Austen used to give further information about them than the novels contain. In a picture gallery in London she says she saw the picture of Jane Bennet,

Mrs. Bingley, though Mrs. Darcy was not there (L. ii. 185, No. 61). It is delightful to hear of the fate of the sententious Mary Bennet, aged nineteen, who when her sister Lydia eloped, and omitted the ceremony of marriage, said (p. 246): "'This is a most unfortunate affair and will probably be much talked of. But we must stem the tide of malice, and pour into the wounded bosoms of each other the balm of sisterly consolation.' Then perceiving in Elizabeth no intention of replying, she added, 'Unhappy as the event must be for Lydia, we may draw from it this useful lesson: that loss of virtue in a female is irretrievable—that one false step involves her in endless ruin—that her reputation is no less brittle than it is beautiful—and that she cannot be too much guarded in her behaviour towards the undeserving of the other sex.'" Mary, it is satisfying to learn from Miss Austen, married a clerk of her uncle Philips the lawyer, to whom no doubt precision would be welcome. When William, the sailor brother of Fanny, left Mansfield Park to join his ship, his Aunt Norris said she had given him "something rather considerable at parting." "I am glad you gave him something considerable," said Lady Bertram with unsuspecting calmness, "for I gave him only £10." Miss Austen used to say that the something rather considerable was £1 (*Memoir*, p. 148).

There could not have been in her mind much difference between her imaginary persons and real life; for her letters, save for their greater unrestraint, are just like her books. She was clearly always observing the people she met, and one of them, Miss Milles (L. ii. 239, No. 68), must have helped to suggest Miss Bates. "She undertook in *three words* to give us the history of Mrs. Scudamore's reconciliation, and then talked about it for half-an-hour, using such odd expressions and so foolishly minute, that I could hardly keep my countenance." Her niece Fanny, who became in the end Lady Knatchbull, was earlier asked in marriage by a suitor, and consults Aunt Jane. The letters (L. ii. 317 ff.), part fun, part wise consideration of her niece's feelings, and prudent advice, might come straight out of the novels. No wonder that her nieces and nephews loved Aunt Jane and that one of them wrote the charming *Memoir* of her. In her letters there is sometimes more malice in the humour than in her writing, though there is gentle malice there too; as when she tells Cassandra that "Mrs. Hall, of Sherborne, was brought to bed yester-

day of a dead child, some weeks before she expected, owing to a fright. I suppose she happened unawares to look at her husband." It would be easy to quote sentences from the letters, with all Miss Austen's humour and aptness of language. Here is one: "Single women," she says to Fanny (L. ii. 335, No. 83), "have a dreadful propensity for being poor, which is one strong argument in favour of matrimony." And another: "Many a girl on early death has been praised into an angel, I believe, on slighter pretensions to beauty, sense, and merit" (than a certain Miss Mapleton who has just died, L. i. 382, No. 32). She writes to Anna about her book: "Devereux Forester's being ruined by his vanity is extremely good, but I wish you would not let him plunge into a 'vortex of dissipation.' I do not object to the thing, but I cannot bear the expression; it is such thorough novel slang, and so old that I daresay Adam met with it in the first novel he opened" (L. ii. 355, No. 88).

The same belief in the reality of her creations extends to her readers. They want to know where is Molland's shop in Millsom Street in Bath where the Miss Elliots waited while it rained; and if they are at Lyme they are like Tennyson careless of where the Duke of Monmouth landed, and want to be shown the steps beside which Louisa Musgrove jumped from the Cobb, fell on the lower Cobb, and in the language of the time was taken up lifeless. She recovered enough life, it will be remembered, to heal the wounded heart of Captain Benwick.

It is difficult to realise that in her years of authorship Miss Austen was a contemporary of Wordsworth, in his productive years, of Keats and Shelley. She loves Nature, but it is still an eighteenth century love for its gentler and more orderly beauty. It has nothing of Wordsworth's mystic passion. She is untouched by romantic passion, and if the passage from *Persuasion* seems to contradict that statement, we have to remind ourselves that the eighteenth century, for all its decorum and outward calm and good sense, was a century of men and women like ourselves, and that if it produced men who were cool and serene, it produced also the fire of Burke and Chatham and Fox and Johnson. She seems in her classic and ironical humour to have felt no breath of the change wrought in men's minds by the new movement of freedom. It has often been observed how detached she is from the great events of her own time, and how no one would guess from

the unruffled calm of the novels that England was at the date of the earlier novels in the throes of the Napoleonic war, and at the date of the later ones, only just emerged from it. It is true we hear that Wentworth was made commander in consequence of the action off St. Domingo (*Persuasion*, p. 120), and there are admirals coming into the stories and midshipmen like William Price, and there is the Price family at Portsmouth; and Anne gloried in being a sailor's wife. Nelson and Buonaparte are not mentioned. Miss Austen was devoted to her two sailor brothers, Frank and Charles, who both in time became admirals, but when Southey's *Life of Nelson* appeared, she says (L. ii. 219, No. 65), "I am tired of lives of Nelson, being that I never read any. I will read this, however, if Frank is mentioned in it."

Her style of writing is in keeping with her classic and ironic mood. I have left to the end her manner of writing, though it is the very soul of her art, as the style of all literary art must be the soul of every literary artist. There is an old saying often quoted, *Le style c'est l'homme même*. We are told that what Buffon really said was, *Le style c'est de l'homme même*; and I am too indolent to check the statement. And there is no real difference. Whether the style is the man or of him, as the style so is the art. It is not a mere dexterity added to thoughts or images, as it may be in writing which is not art; but the very form of the material the writer uses, which is words with meanings. So long as a Milton is mute we cannot tell that he is a Milton, and thoughts which may be too profound for words are not the thoughts of a literary artist. An author does not merely need words, and those artistically wrought, in order to communicate to others what he thinks; if he is an artist he must speak or die. It would hardly seem worth while to say this were it not for a widely-spread belief that technique is only the instrument of art instead of being organic to it and indeed the whole.

At any rate Miss Austen's style is her characters, and plot, and the humorous unfolding of her comedy, over again. It is natural and unaffected, without fuss or affectation, and its equable flow sparkles as it flows. It fits the subject as a glove follows the hand, as William James says somewhere of Mr. Bergson's style, and that is because it is the very substance of her art. Her English differs little in its general character from the standard English of the present day, except for the

greater expansiveness and equableness which it possesses as belonging to the eighteenth century, and the occasional use of antithesis and balance which the writer may have acquired from her dear Dr. Johnson. Needless to say it is wholly alien, whether in narrative or in conversation, from the jerkiness of some later nineteenth and twentieth century English.

Not that it is always impeccable. When I was re-reading in preparation for this paper, I began to note the instances in which "everybody" or "nobody" is followed by "their": "Nobody put themselves out of their way to secure her comfort," "Everybody should marry as soon as they can do it to advantage." I noted twenty instances of this usage in *Mansfield Park*, and when I found it occurred in all the novels, I gave up counting. It is a very popular misuse, and I suppose a solecism repeated continually by a great writer must be considered as promoted to the brevet rank of an idiom. Occasionally, but not often, she does descend to the distressing trick, practised so often by Dickens, of conjoining with one verb two heterogeneous complements—"almost ready to overpower them" (it is Miss Bates) "with care and kindness . . . anxious inquiries after Mr. Woodhouse's health, cheerful communications about her mother's and sweet-cake from the beaufet" (p. 156). These are small matters, and I could wish that the people who nowadays use the silly expression "that's right" when they mean "yes" would read this passage from *Mansfield Park* (p. 245):—

"You will divide your year between London and Northamptonshire?"

"Yes."

"That's right,"

and they will learn the difference between the expression of mere affirmation and that of approval, or of the confirmation of a statement.¹

In the remainder of my time I shall now indulge myself by reading illustrations from the novels of Miss Austen's style. They are chosen without any special care, almost at random (except for one passage), just because her workmanship is so uniformly excellent. I shall first

¹ When I first read this paper I expected to be met at the appointed place by a Mr. Smith whom I did not know by sight. I asked the man who met me if he was Mr. Smith and he said "That's right."

cite some longer passages and then a few shorter ones which may serve as examples of her peculiar aptness and wit or humour.

The first is taken from *Mansfield Park*. It has no particular claim to be chosen ; it illustrates the simple manner habitual to the writer. Sir Thomas Bertram has returned home and has been told about the theatricals, the very risky play, as it would then be thought, which was certain to shock his grave propriety :—

There was one person, however, in the house, whom he could not leave to learn his sentiments merely by his conduct. He could not help giving Mrs. Norris a hint of his having hoped that her advice might have been interposed to prevent what her judgment must certainly have disapproved. The young people had been very inconsiderate in forming the plan ; they ought to have been capable of a better decision themselves ; but they were young, and, excepting Edmund, he believed of unsteady characters ; and with greater surprise, therefore, he must regard her acquiescence in their wrong measures, her countenance of their unsafe amusements, than that such measures and such amusements should have been suggested. Mrs. Norris was a little confounded and as nearly being silenced as ever she had been in her life ; for she was ashamed to confess having never seen any of the impropriety which was so glaring to Sir Thomas, and would not have admitted that her influence was insufficient—that she might have talked in vain. Her only resource was to get out of the subject as fast as possible, and turn the current of Sir Thomas's ideas into a happier channel. She had a great deal to insinuate in her own praise as to attention to the interest and comfort of his family, much exertion and many sacrifices to glance at in the form of hurried walks and sudden removals from her own fire-side, and many excellent hints of distrust and economy to Lady Bertram and Edmund to detail, whereby a most considerable saving had always arisen, and more than one bad servant had been detected. (*Mansfield Park*, p. 55.)

The second illustrates the contrast of the angelic Jane Bennet who never sees evil and the shrewd and caustic Elizabeth :—

She then spoke of the letter, repeating the whole of its contents as far as they concerned George Wickham. What a stroke was this for poor Jane ! who would willingly have gone through the world without believing that so much wickedness existed in the whole race of mankind, as was here collected in one individual. Nor was Darcy's vindication, though grateful to her feelings, capable of consoling her for such discovery. Most earnestly did she labour to prove the probability of error, and seek to clear one without involving the other.

"This will not do," said Elizabeth, "you will never be able to make both of them good for anything. Take your choice, but you must be satisfied with only one. There is but such a quantity of merit between

them; just enough to make one good sort of man; and of late it has been shifting about pretty much. For my part, I am inclined to believe it all Mr. Darcy's; but you shall chuse."

It was some time, however, before a smile could be extorted from Jane.

"I do not know when I have been more shocked," said she, "Wickham so very bad! It is almost past belief. And poor Mr. Darcy! Dear Lizzy, only consider what he must have suffered. Such a disappointment! and with the knowledge of your ill opinion too! and having to relate such a thing of his sister! It is really too distressing. I am sure you must feel it so."

"Oh! no, my regret and compassion are all done away by seeing you so full of both. I know you will do him such ample justice, that I am growing every moment more unconcerned and indifferent. Your profusion makes me saving; and if you lament over him much longer, my heart will be as light as a feather."

"Poor Wickham! there is such an expression of goodness in his countenance, such an openness and gentleness in his manner!"

"There certainly was some great mismanagement in the education of those two young men. One has got all the goodness, and the other all the appearance of it." (*Pride and Prejudice*, p. 192.)

The third is from *Emma*, just after Emma and Harriet had been visiting a poor and sick protégée of Emma's in the village of Highbury, which, by-the-by, is Cobham, for as Sir Francis Darwin pointed out, in one place the author has written Cobham and forgotten to substitute Highbury:—

"These are the sights, Harriet, to do one good. How trifling they make everything else appear! I feel now as if I could think of nothing but these poor creatures all the rest of the day; and yet who can say how soon it may all vanish from my mind?"

"Very true," said Harriet. "Poor creatures! one can think of nothing else."

"And really I do not think the impression will soon be over," said Emma, as she crossed the low hedge, and tottering footstep, which ended the narrow, slippery path through the cottage garden, and brought them into the lane again. "I do not think it will," stopping to look once more at all the outward wretchedness of the place, and recall the still greater within.

"Oh dear, no," said her companion.

They walked on. The lane made a slight bend; and when that bend was passed, Mr. Elton was immediately in sight, and so near as to give Emma time only to say further:—

"Ah, Harriet, here comes a very sudden trial of our stability in good thoughts. Well" (smiling), "I hope it may be allowed that if compassion has produced exertion and relief to the sufferers, it has done all that is truly important. If we feel for the wretched enough to do all

we can for them, the rest is empty sympathy, only distressing to ourselves."

Harriet could just answer, "Oh dear, yes" before the gentleman joined them. (*Emma*, p. 89.)

To the selection of shorter passages there is no end. Here are a few ; they are, except the last, in no sense selected as gems, a hundred other passages might be selected with equal justice ; they all show the true artist's fusing of the matter and the form.

From *Sense and Sensibility* :—

[Says the egregious Willoughby], "Brandon is just the kind of man whom everybody speaks well of, and nobody cares about, whom all are delighted to see, and nobody remembers to talk to." [And when Elinor defends him as highly esteemed by all the family at the Park, he goes on to ask], "Who would submit to the indignity of being approved by such women as Lady Middleton and Mrs. Jennings, that could command the indifference of anybody else?" (p. 40).

From *Emma* :—

"When she considered how peculiarly unlucky poor Mr. Elton was in being in the same room at once with the woman he had just married, the woman he had wanted to marry, and the woman he had been expected to marry, she must allow him to have the right to look as little wise, and to be as much affectedly, and as little really, easy as could be" (p. 277).

And this of old Mr. Woodhouse, when the news came from Enscombe that Mrs. Churchill was ill and that the ball must be dropped, and Frank could not come, and everybody was wretched :—

"Her father's feelings were quite different. He thought principally of Mrs. Churchill's illness, and wanted to know how she was treated ; and as for the ball, it was shocking to have dear Emma disappointed ; but they would all be safer at home" (p. 266).

From *Pride and Prejudice* : Elizabeth and her sensible aunt Mrs. Gardiner are speaking about the sudden interruption of Bingley's courtship of Jane, and Mrs. Gardiner asks, demurring to the description that he had been violently in love with Jane :—

"Pray how *violent* was Mr. Bingley's love?"

"I never saw a more promising inclination ; he was growing quite inattentive to other people, and wholly engrossed by her. Every time they met it was more decided and remarkable. At his own ball he offended two or three young ladies by not asking them to dance ; and I spoke to him twice myself, without receiving an answer. Could there be finer symptoms ? Is not general incivility the very essence of love?" (p. 121).

From *Northanger Abbey*:—

“Man only can be aware of the insensibility of man towards a new gown. It would be mortifying to the feelings of many ladies could they be made to understand how little the heart of man is affected by what is costly or new in their attire; how little it is biassed by the texture of their muslin and how unsusceptible of peculiar tenderness towards the spotted, the sprigged, the mull or the jackonet. Woman is fine for her own satisfaction alone” (p. 54).

From *Mansfield Park*, of Mrs. Price:—

“Her days were spent in a kind of slow bustle; always busy without getting on, always behindhand and lamenting it, without altering her ways; wishing to be an economist without contrivance or regularity; dissatisfied with her servants without skill to make them better, and whether helping, or reprimanding, or indulging them, without any power of engaging their respect” (p. 325).

And from *Persuasion* this passage, gay and exquisite, about Anne when the proposal from Wentworth was in the offing:—

“Prettier musings of high wrought love and external constancy could never have passed along the streets of Bath than Anne was sporting with from Camden Place to Westgate Buildings. It was almost enough to spread purification and perfume all the way” (p. 163).

There is no end to this. I only hope the shade of Jane Austen will forgive me if in the interest of candour I have not left her defects unmentioned in estimating her merits. I think she would, but I should be afraid to wait to hear the mocking approval she would bestow.

THE CITY UR AND ITS GOD NANNA(R) IN THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR.

BY THE REV. T. FISH, PH.D. (CANTAB.).

THE matter of the following pages has been collected from the 3rd Ur tablets hitherto published and from the John Rylands collection.

3rd Ur texts are chiefly temple records or administration tablets. The evidence on these is scattered and confused, and the religious matter is not religious theory but religious practice. An orderly presentation of either the material or the religious civilisation of the time may result from chasing some person, festival, fact or place in and out the abundance of complex material.

In these pages attention will be concentrated on one place Ur, the capital city of the 3rd Ur dynasty, and on its pantheon, in general, and on its chief god, the moon, both in and out of Ur, in particular.

THE CITY UR.

The matter recorded on the tablets of this dynasty, relative to the city Ur, is of two main kinds : (i) details of communication between Ur and other places ; (ii) details of the religious life at Ur.

Hitherto little that has been found at Ur has been published. At the moment we must depend largely on information afforded by tablets found elsewhere, especially at Lagash, Umma and Drehem.

Such information is slight in the matter of the material civilisation, but comparatively large in the matter of religious civilisation of the time. On Lagash tablets we read of barley,¹ dates,² clothing,³ wool,⁴ foodstuffs⁵ for Ur. A Nippur text records fats, and a Drehem text records animals,⁶ for Ur.

¹TU. 95, I. 9; 114, III. 4; RTC. 379; ITT. IV. 7489, 7510.

²TU. 114, II. 9f. ³RTC. 271, 277; ITT. IV. 7693, 8089; RTC. 279.

⁴CT. X. 17747, IV. 10. ⁵STD. 298. ⁶BEUP. 150; TD. 4689.

There is explicit record of travel to or from Ur : of a man from Anshan,⁷ and another from Huhunuri,⁸ who went to Ur. There is the man with the very Ur-ish name, *Nu-ùr-i-li*, who went from Ur to Susa ;⁹ and there are men of Ur at Lagash.¹⁰

All this implies communication. There was communication with Ur by boat, thus : (i) from Lagash, "reçu d'orge chargé sur un bateau à destination d'Ur" ;¹¹ wool *má-a gar-ra Uri^{ki}-shú* ;¹² and "8 barques de laine pour Ur" ;¹³ (ii) from Nippur, barley "*she Uri^{ki}-shú . . . she má-si-ga*" ;¹⁴ and oil "*iá-gish, Uri^{ki}-ma-shú má-a gà-ra*" ;¹⁵ (iii) from Umma ; "*Umma^{ki}-ta, Uri^{ki}-shú ù Nibru^{ki}-shú má-gid-da*."¹⁶

All one can say on the material side of the life of the city of Ur is very brief. What is known about it from this class of evidence is very nearly nothing. It amounts to no more than the few facts adduced on the previous page.

Happily, we have more information about the pantheon and cult of the city Ur. But, here, too, our information is drawn chiefly from texts found in places other than, and within about 80 miles of, Ur : Umma, Lagash, and, especially, Drehem.

An inscription of Bur Sin, the third king of the dynasty, explicitly names the moon god "King of Ur."¹⁷ The records found at Ur show that the kings of the dynasty of Ur, at this date, had a special regard for the chief god of the pantheon of their royal city. To each is the moon god 'his king.'¹⁸ To him Ur ^dNammu built a temple at Ur ;¹⁹ so, too, did Gimil Sin.²⁰ The former also prayed a blessing on those who renovate the dwelling place of Nanna(r),²¹ whilst Bur Sin who calls himself, as did Gimil Sin, the beloved of the moon god,²² expects disaster from the hand of Nanna(r) on those who remove his, the king's statue.²³ Dungi had two sons named *Lù-dNanna(r)* and *Ur-dSin*.²⁴ A son of Bur Sin was named *Ka-dNanna(r)*.²⁵ And a Lagash tablet mentions a man of Ur named *Azag-dNanna(r)*.²⁶

In the matter of cult, besides the scanty direct evidence of the

⁷ RTC. 346 Rev.

⁸ RTC. 383.

⁹ Hussey ST. II. 84.

¹⁰ ib. 64 Rev. II.

¹¹ ITT. IV. 7489.

¹² CT. X. 17747, IV. 10.

¹³ ITT. II. 916.

¹⁴ BEUP. 150.

¹⁵ ib. 103, II. 33.

¹⁶ ITT. III

5038, Rev. 1-3.

¹⁷ SAK. 198 (d) 2, 5.

¹⁸ SAK. 186 (b) ; 194 (s) ;

200 (i).

¹⁹ ib. 186 (b), (c).

²⁰ ib. 202 (d).

²¹ ib. 188 (i).

²² ib. 198 (e) ; 202 (d).

²³ ib. 198 (d).

²⁴ TRU. 24, 5 ; 28, 10 ;

Tr. D. 81.

²⁵ TRU. 330, 5.

²⁶ CT. IX. 14315, II. 10.

tablets found at Ur itself, we have the indirect evidence of tablets found at Drehem, a large number, and an occasional Lagash tablet. Some of these locate a festival or an offering to deities at Ur (*sha(g)-Ur^{ki}-ma*). From such tablets we can learn the names of deities, the religious feasts and the cult terms in use at Ur. Of course, such information may fall far short of the realities in all their detail. For such completeness we must await the information of the texts recently found at Ur.

Here are three Drehem texts which record cult at Ur. They are typical and comparatively large.

(i) 6 fat sheep, for the end of the night (*á-gi(g)-ba-a*), 1 fat ox, the great propitiatory sacrifice (*zūr-gu-la*), to Nanna(r), 1 fat ox for Gimil Sin the beloved of Nanna(r), 2 fat oxen for Ninsun, 1 fat ox for Gimil Sin the beloved of Ninsun, 2 oxen for Allatum, 1 ox for Meslamtaea, as food burnt and offered (*nig-ku bi(l)-bi(l)-gar*), in the evening (*á-ud-temen-na*), which the king brought in (*lugal tu(r)-ra*), on the 9th day in Ur, by Basha(g)-^dEnlil exported, in the month of the great feast, the year when Gimil Sin built the temple of the god Shara' of Umma.²⁷

(ii) Oxen for the following :—Ninazagnunna, Nanna(r) e-mu-ri-na ba-gal(?), Ulmashitum, Annunitum, Allatum, Meslamtaea, and An-na, for the end of the night, brought in by the king ; oxen for the propitiatory sacrifice, for Nanna(r), in the evening, in Ur, the day when Ibi Sin received (*ud ^dIbi ^dSin-ge shu-ba-an-ti-a*), the third month ; exported by Basha ^dEnlil, . . . the month of the great feast, 9th year of Gimil Sin.²⁸

(iii) 9 fat sheep, 2 sheep, 5 *ka* of milk (*ga-she-a*) for the *é-mu*, 1 fat 'sheep for the libation place of Ur ^dNammu (*ki-a-nag Ur-^dNammu*), 1 lamb for each of the deities Geshtinanna diri(g)-tūm, Ishara, Beladnaḫar, 2 sheep and 1 lamb for Al-la-. . . , 2 sheep each for Meslamtaea and Ninazagnunna, 1 sheep each for Lugaludda and Meslamtaea, which the king brought in ; 5 lambs *kin-gí-a*, i.e. for the messenger (?), En-um ^dAdad the official (*mashkim*) ; in Ur, month of the great feast, year when the high priest of Innina of Uruk was named, inducted (?).²⁹

Of the details which occur on the texts given just now, a few

²⁷ JR. 388.

²⁸ UDT. 100.

²⁹ TD. 5514.

suggest a passing note. The terms *á-gi(g)-ba-a* and *á-ud-temen-na* are found only on Drehem tablets during this period. The texts just quoted refer to Ur. But other texts which do not name the place to which they witness, also record 'end-of-night' and 'evening' cult. Some of them may be records of cult in Ur, though they do not say so. On these occasions, besides the deities named on the three specimen texts given above, the following were religiously honoured: 'end of the night'—Adad, Bisila, Innina, Dungi, Enlil, Ninlil, Babbar, Nanna(r)-é-nun^{ki}, the *é-mu*, the *dub-lal-mah* and the *é-dub-ba*; 'evening': Adad, Nanana, Allagula, Ninégia, Enlil, Ninlil, Sin-igi-dū-a and the *é-mu*.³⁰

Perhaps both occasions were, at least at Ur, primarily in honour of the moon god, at the beginning and end of his rule over the night. Once the sun is mentioned as the object of cult at 'the end of the night'—quite an appropriate circumstance at a moment when the sun would be beginning to rule over the day.

The phrase *lugal-tu(r)-ra* indicates the personal association of the king with such celebrations.³¹ One tablet describes offerings as the 'gift of the king for (or on the occasion of) the 'end of the night'; another, as gifts for (on) 'the evening' (*nig-ba-lugal á-gig-ba-a á-ud-temen-na*).³² Both are located in Bashaish ^dDagan.

On each of the three texts cited above, Allatum is immediately followed by Meslamtaea, *i.e.* the wife precedes the husband, the lord of the underworld.³³ On the second and third text, Ulmashitum is coupled with Annunitum, the Ishtar of Agade. So, too, on four others.³⁴ At a later date Hammurabi will record that he placed Ishtar in the temple of Ulmash in Agade-ribitum.³⁵

The *é-mu* mentioned on the third text is usually translated as 'kitchen' or 'bakery.' There is a point of context which is worthy of remark. On the text quoted, the offering for the *é-mu* is immediately followed by the offering for the place of libation of (?) Ur-^dNammu. A Drehem text in the John Rylands collection³⁶ reads: '1 lamb

³⁰ CT. 32, 43, IV.; JR. 384; TRU. 361, 363; JR. 384; TD. 18; Tr. D. 3; SRD. 17; JR. 384; TD. 5500; TRU. 364; CT. 32, 43, IV.; SRD. 5; KDD. 23; TRU. 371.

SRD. 17.

³² JR. 389; CT. 32, 15.

and TRU. 282, 13, where not so.

³⁴ TD. 5552; TRU. 273, 287;

SA. XXVI.

³⁵ Cod. Ham. 4, 46-51.

³⁶ JR. 175.

³¹ *Cp. also* TD. 5500;

³³ *Cp. also* UDT. 91, 336,

for the *é-mu, ki-a-nag* ^d*Dungi*.' Another Drehem tablet records an offering for the *é-mu*, followed by an offering to Ur ^d*Nammu*.³⁷ Delaporte summarises a Lagash tablet thus: *dépense de petit bétail pour la cuisine, le ki-a-nag, Enlil, Ninlil, Nanna(r), Innina, Ninsun, Uta*.³⁸ The '*ki-na-nag*,' usually translated as place of libation, occurs on tablets of this time only in connection with cult of kings (*cp. Bulletin of John Rylands Library*, Jan. 1918, p. 75 ff.). The evidence just adduced gives rise to the suspicion that the *é-mu* was perhaps in some way connected with the cult of kings. Hardly a kind of charnel-house (*mu* = *pagru*, a dead body) ?

The third text mentions Ishara together with Beladna-*ṣar* (?). Another tablet records offerings to "Ishara and Beladna-gud (?)" in Ur.³⁹ The latter's name recalls that other unidentified couple Beladsuḫnir and Beladdarraban who occur so frequently together.⁴⁰ These had a temple in Ur (*é* ^d*Be-la-ad-suḫ-nir* *ù* ^d*Be-la-ad-dar-ra-ba-an, sha(g) Uri^{ki}-ma*).⁴¹

Only two Lagash tablets record cult at Ur.⁴² The first records "30 gur of *ḥa-bi* (*l*), cooked fish, for the *á-ki-ti*; 30 for the great feast, *ezen-maḥ*, as *másh-da-ri-a* of the *sukkal-maḥ*, in Ur; the second records 30 gur as *másdaria* in the month of *á-ki-ti shu-numun*" in Ur. Three texts from Drehem mention *másh-da-ri-a ezen-maḥ*.⁴³ An Umma tablet details *másh-da-ri-a ezen-shu-numun* *ù ezen-maḥ*.⁴⁴ There is not, as yet, sufficient evidence on which to determine the relation between the realities expressed by these terms. And the following note on *akitu* can only be tentative.

There seems to have been an *akitu* at Ur,⁴⁵ and one at Nippur.⁴⁶ The deity most frequently named in connection with *akitu* is the moon god, and always under the form Nanna(r).⁴⁷ It may well be that all such texts record Ur cult. At any rate, the only text that records *akitu* at Nippur is concerned with the cult of Enlil, Ninlil and Adad.

Two Drehem tablets,⁴⁸ speak of 'fat oxen to Nanna(r) before the emblem in *akitu* (*gu(d)-she igi shu-nir-ra sha(g) á-ki-ti*). One

³⁷ CT. 32, 45.³⁸ ITT. IV. 7868.³⁹ TRU. 282, 16.⁴⁰ JR. 126, 392; TRU. 274, 282, 287; Adab. Tab. 4; Jean, SA. XXXII, XXVI.⁴¹ SRD. X. Rev. 6; TRU. 273.⁴² ITT. II.

3416; III. 6167.

⁴³ CT. 32, 22, VI.; SRD. 56; JR. 373.⁴⁴ CB. 47.⁴⁵ CT. 32, 16, II.; SA. 217; ITT. II. 3410.⁴⁶ JR. 287.⁴⁷ TRU. 370; TAD. 7; GDD. 8; TD. 5508; SA. 241.⁴⁸ TRU.

370; GDD. 8.

Drehem text⁴⁹ mentions sacrifices to the moon-god's emblem "*zūr shu-nir-dNanna(r)*." Where was this emblem of the moon-god precisely? We know that there was an emblem of Enlil in the temple of Enlil,⁵⁰ as we should expect. As regards Nanna(r), perhaps it is right to suspect that the place of the emblem at Ur is identified on an inscribed door-socket of Bur Sin, found during the British-American excavations at Ur, 1924-1925, which Mr. Wooley reads: "To Nanna(r) his beloved king DUB.LAL.MAH, from of old an enclosure where daily offerings were laid before his heavenly emblem (?) etc."⁵¹

Certainly, the DUB.LAL.MAH is connected with the moon god. Thus: sheep in the name of the king, and of Me-^dKa-di, for Nanna(r); sheep for ^dKAL (?), are described as libation offerings of the *dub-lal-mah* ^dNanna(r).⁵² The tablet is dated the 5th year of Bur Sin: hence, the king is Bur Sin, and Me ^dKa-di is his daughter, as we know from another tablet.⁵³ KAL is the 'minister of the moon-god' (*sukkal* *dSin-na-ge*).⁵⁴

Other references to the *dub-lal-mah* are not so suggestive: fat sheep for the *dub-lal-mah*;⁵⁵ sheep and oxen for the *dub-lal-mah*, on the occasion of the end of the night.⁵⁶ Probably another text⁵⁷ should read 'fat sheep for Nanna(r), and for DUB (instead of *SI*)-*lal-mah*.' It is quite likely that one other Drehem tablet originally recorded offerings for the *dub-lal-mah*.⁵⁸ If so, here we have a *dub-lal-mah* expressly located in Ur.

The cult term, of uncertain meaning, *nig-ki-ḫa.a* occurs occasionally, but never on any but Drehem texts. It occurs in connection with Adad: sheep, *nig-ki-ḫa.a* ^dAdad;⁵⁹ sheep, *sá-dú(g)* *nig-ki-ḫa.a* *é-dAdad*;⁶⁰ with Beladdarraban and Beladsuhmir;⁶¹ and with the new moon in the palace (*ud-sar sha(g)-é-gal-la*).⁶²

The inscription of Bur Sin, mentioned earlier, which named Nanna(r) 'king of Ur,' named his wife, Ningal 'mother of Ur.'⁶³ But very little sign is there of her cult. One Drehem text records fat sheep for Nanna(r) and Ningal.⁶⁴ An Umma text mentions an offering to

⁴⁹ TAD. 7 Rev. II. ⁵⁰ CT. 32, 41, I. ⁵¹ *Antiquaries' Journal*, Oct. 1925, p. 395. ⁵² Tr. D. II. Rev. ⁵³ Me-^dKa-di *dumu-sal lugal*, TRU. 303, 5, 4th year of BS. ⁵⁴ CT. 25, 19, 5. ⁵⁵ Adab. Tab. 4, 17; KDD. 1, 16. ⁵⁶ TD. 5500, I. II. ⁵⁷ UDT. 169, 2. ⁵⁸ SA. 217. ⁵⁹ JR. 12, 2. ⁶⁰ TRU. 272, 10. ⁶¹ TRU. 273, 284; KDD. 1. ⁶² TRU. 274, 16. ⁶³ SAK. 198 (d), 2, 7. ⁶⁴ UDT. 92, 1-2; *cp.* SA. 217; TRD. 9.

the lady of Ur (*Nin-Uri^{ki}-ma*), presumably the moon god's consort.⁶⁵ There was a diviner, PA.AL dNin-gal,⁶⁶ and there are two personal names : Ur dNingal and Azag dNingal ; these recall the names Ur dNanna(r) and Azag-dNanna(r), which were current in this period.⁶⁷

It is remarkable that, up to the present, no tablet of the third dynasty of Ur records offerings at Ur to Enlil, Ninlil and Babbar. This may be a mere coincidence. Indeed it would be easy to exaggerate the value and strain the nature of the evidence which has been brought forward in this section. The only safe method is to present that evidence as it is found on contemporary texts, and whilst reading it, to remember that it is largely drawn from non-Ur sources, which, though very valuable witnesses to the things of Ur, presume, rather than supply, acquaintance with local detail. For this latter we must rely on the archæological and literary finds of the excavators at present engaged on the site of the ancient capital of the kingdom of Ur and the centre of the cult of the moon god.

THE CULT OF THE MOON GOD IN PLACES OTHER THAN UR.

The evidence produced in the preceding pages has shown first, that the moon god was the head of the pantheon at Ur, the capital city of the Sumerian kingdom subject to the 3rd dynasty of Ur ; second, that the kings of that dynasty honoured the moon god at Ur, though we may remind ourselves that those same kings honoured other gods elsewhere : Enlil in Nippur, Ningirsu in Lagash, Innina in Erech, Babbar in Larsa, and the ' Lady of Susa ' at Susa ;⁶⁸ third, that no deity is named more frequently on texts which are concerned with Ur, than is the moon god.

It has been remarked already that on Ur-texts (*sha(g) Uri^{ki}-ma*) the name of the moon god is always Nanna(r). But, although the kings of Ur paid such honour to the moon god as Nanna(r), three of them have, as part of their names, the name of the moon god as EN.ZU or Sin. And one of them, Gimil Sin called himself the beloved of Nanna(r) in his lifetime,⁶⁹ and was honoured under that title, with an offering, after his death.⁷⁰ The fact is that both forms of

⁶⁵ TEO. 6053. ⁶⁶ JR. 328, 4 ; WTD. 103434, 13. ⁶⁷ *cp.* JR. III. 2 ; 15, 5 ; 336, Rev. 2 ; 370 Rev. I. ⁶⁸ SAK. 186 (g), 188 (k), 198 (f), 190 (d), 192 (i), 186 (d), 186 (e), 190 (c). ⁶⁹ SAK. 202 (d). ⁷⁰ TD. 5482 I. 7.

the name were in use during this dynasty, and it is not easy to say what determined the form to be used in any particular case. For example, why was a father named ^a*Nanna(r)-ki-ág*, whereas his son was named *Ur-dEN.ZU*?⁷¹ There are several instances of the use of both forms on the same text.⁷²

We may expect that the capital importance of the city Ur would give an exceptional authority and vogue to the moon god, the head of the Ur pantheon, in the other towns of the kingdom. But here evidence from each Sumerian city, of which we have contemporary records, must be examined separately, lest the theory come first and the facts second.

The nature of the evidence is from all places the same: proper names, cult terms, cult objects, festivals and year formulæ.

The year formulæ of the years of the third dynasty of Ur are substantially the same on all contemporary tablets, whether they come from Lagash, Umma, Adab, Drehem or Nippur. They commemorate the same religious, military or political events. They have all the appearance of standard formulæ, decided on, and issued by, some central authority, and ordered to be used throughout the land. In themselves, therefore, the universal year formulæ which tell of some fact of moon god cult, are no proof that the cult of the moon god obtained wherever those year formulæ were in use. It is likely, however, that such a 'broadcasting' of details of the cult of the moon god would lead to an increase in his popularity throughout the kingdom.

Very probably the year formulæ were decided at Ur, the capital city. In support of this is the circumstance that just as on Ur-tablets and on tablets which record offerings at Ur, the moon god's name is *Nanna(r)*, so in the year formulæ, the form of the moon god's name is never *EN.ZU* but always *Nanna(r)*, except in the writing of the names *Bur Sin*, *Gimil Sin* and *Ibi Sin*. A further observation: no god appears so frequently in the year formulæ as does the moon god, *Nanna(r)*. This is natural if the formulæ were fixed at Ur, the centre of the cult of the moon god.

The following are the year formulæ in which the moon god occurs: *mu^d Nanna(r) kar-zi(d)-da é-a ba-tù(r)*, *Dungi* 5, 34; *Bur Sin* 9; *mu en-nir-zi an-na en^d Nanna(r) másh-e-ni-pa(d)*, *Dungi* 11;

⁷¹ ITT. IV. 7523.

⁷² ITT. II. 638, 728, etc.

mu ^d*Nanna(r)* *Nibru^{kié}-a ba-tù(r)*; Dungi 10; *mu en-nir-zi an-na en^dNanna(r) ba-shù-gà*, Dungi 13; *mu en^dNanna(r) masha-ni-pa(d)*, Dungi 41; *mu en-mah-gal an-na en^dNanna(r) ba-šù*, Bur Sin 4.

Of these six formulæ, four are concerned with the priest of Nanna(r) and two with the induction of Nanna(r) into Nippur and Karzida respectively.

The Calendar of the period is otherwise silent about the moon god: no festivals or month names explicitly and professedly commemorate him.

The greater part of the evidence in the present matter is in proper names and explicit records of cult: officials, offerings and cult objects.

Of proper names it need only be remarked here that personal names, of which Nanna(r) or Sin formed part, were current in Lagash, Umma and Drehem.

More to our present purpose is the specifically cult evidence. For the sake of accuracy and clearness, the various places for which we have evidence will be taken separately.

A Lagash tablet records that Ur ^dNammu dug a canal, presumably at Lagash, which was named "^d*Nanna(r)-gu-la*" in honour of Nanna(r), and he encourages any who renew the dwelling place of Nanna(r) with the assurance of good fortune.⁷³

For much the greater part, the evidence of Lagash tablets is personal names compounded of name of the moon god, Nanna(r) or Sin. Other evidence is scarce. Several references to a shepherd of Nanna(r);⁷⁴ to a priest of Nanna(r);⁷⁵ to a temple of Nanna(r): 'd'orge du champ ^dNin- . . . et du champ *dingir-pi-li-ha*, temple de ^dNanna(r);⁷⁶ food from the temple of Nanna(r):⁷⁷ soldier of the temple of Nanna(r);⁷⁸ a fisherman,⁷⁹ and "*AN.NA.NE.KUS* of the temple of Nanna(r)."⁸⁰ A temple of EN.ZU also: slaves who are officials: "*kal, é^dEn.Zu, . . . AD-e-ne.*"⁸¹

The scanty record of offerings to Nanna(r) is the following: "Orge pour Enlil, Ninlil, Nanna(r) et Anum";⁸² "petit bétail pour

⁷³ SAK. 188 (i). ⁷⁴ CT. III. 21335, I. 94; IX. 19068, II; TU. 152, II. 17. ⁷⁵ CT. III. 21335, I. 14; ITT. IV. 7887. ⁷⁶ ITT. IV. 7034.

⁷⁷ TU. 152; R. III. 6. ⁷⁸ Chiera STA. 10, XII. 6f. ⁷⁹ TU. 96, IV. 17. ⁸⁰ CT. IX. 14315, II. 3. ⁸¹ STD. 220, 4; ITT. 157, 7210. ⁸² ITT. II. 629.

Enlil, Ninlil et Nanna(r)"; ⁸³ "Beurre pour ^dEn.Zu"; ⁸⁴ "Boeufs et moutons pour . . . et ^dEN.ZU". ⁸⁵

The association of Enlil and Nanna(r) on these Lagash texts would suggest that at Lagash too, Nanna(r) was considered as son of Enlil, as at Ur. On a tablet found at Ur, the moon god is the first son of Enlil (dumu-sag ^dEn-lil). ⁸⁶ Because Enlil was the chief god at Nippur, we expect to find his son in the Nippur pantheon. And we do.

The year formula of the tenth year of Dungi is "the year when Nanna(r) of Nippur was brought into the temple." ⁸⁷

Three Drehem tablets record details of the cult of the moon god at Nippur: 3 sheep, 1 lamb, 1 kid, to Enlil; 3 sheep, 1 lamb, 1 kid to Ninlil; 1 lamb to each of the following in order, Nanna(r), Nusku, Ninib; in the temple of Ninlil at Nippur; 8th month of Bur Sin I. ⁸⁸

"So, too, offerings to Enlil, Ninlil, EN.ZU, in the temple of Ninlil at Nippur; 8th month of Ibi Sin I." ⁸⁹

"3 fat sheep for the place of Sin (*ki-dEn.ZU . . . sha(g) Nibru^{ku} it^u á-ki-ti*." ⁹⁰

It will be noticed that the order of the deities is that which we have seen on the Lagash tablets: Enlil, Ninlil and Nanna(r).

The odd thing is that the moon god is never worshipped in the temple of his father, Enlil, but very frequently in the temple of Ninlil (*sha(g) é-dNin-lil-lá*). ⁹¹ One text records offerings to Enlil, Ninlil and Sin "*sha(g) é-dEn-lil-dNin-lil-lá*," ⁹² though this does not necessarily mean that each offering was offered in the temple of both Enlil and Ninlil.

It is not easy to decide the precise political status of Drehem. Geographically Drehem was near Nippur. And it may be that many of the Drehem tablets do record cult at Nippur, even though they do not convey that circumstance by the words 'in Nippur.' One is led to suspect the possibility of this by two similarities between the offering-lists on texts which do contain those words—in Nippur—and those which do not: *viz.* the order in which Nanna(r) or Sin is named,

⁸³ ITT. IV. 7868.

⁸⁴ ITT. IV. 8081; Hussey, II. 54, Rev. I.

⁸⁵ ITT. IV. 7409, 8027.

⁸⁶ SAK. 186, c. 1-3; 188, 202d.

⁸⁷ SAK.

230. ⁸⁸ Tr. D. 3.

⁸⁹ CT. 32, 15 obv.

⁹⁰ TRU. 323.

⁹¹ CT. 32, 41, II. 50 obv.; TD. 5501, I. II., Rev. 1; 5513 Rev.

⁹² CT. 32, 15 obv.

relative to the gods Enlil and Ninlil ; and the place of offering, *i.e.* in the temple of Ninlil.

One of the Drehem texts, already quoted, mentioned 'the place of Sin.' There is a Lagash tablet which has "*ki^dUta ù ki^dEN.ZU*,"⁹³ and that is the only Lagash reference to such. But the Drehem texts make frequent mention of "*ki^dEnZU*." Thus :—

- (a) animals *ki^dSin . . . itu-ud-30 ba-zal, itu XI, Dungi 44.*⁹⁴
 " " *ud-29-kam " " II,*⁹⁵
 " *zūr " ud-28-kam " "*⁹⁶
 (b) " *ki^d Sin ud-sar, itu ezen-^dNin-a-zu.*⁹⁷
 (c) " *ki^d Sin é-ud-sar, itu ud 28 ba-zal, itu XII*⁹⁸

Three things are noteworthy in connection with the place of Sin. First, it is always *ki^dSin*, never *ki^dNanna(r)* ; second, though the months differ, the day is always either the 28th, 29th or 30th ; third, it would seem that other deities were honoured in connection with, or, in the 'place of Sin,' *viz.* : 1 cow of two years for sacrifices of Anum, the place of Sin ;⁹⁹ an Umma text reads '1 lamb for Enlil, 1 lamb for Ninlil the place of Sin.'¹⁰⁰

The only other deities that have 'place' are Adad¹⁰¹ and Babbar.¹⁰²

There was a 'temple of Nanna(r)'¹⁰³ and one of Sin.'¹⁰⁴

Once there is an offering of a lamb to the sanctuary (bara) of Nanna(r).¹⁰⁵

Evidence of moon god cult at *Umma* is limited to one text¹⁰⁶ which records offering of a fat sheep to Nanna(r) in *Umma*, the month of shu-numun. Another Umma text records an offering of a sheep to Sin.¹⁰⁷

From a Drehem text we learn that Nanna(r) was worshipped in *Sukurru^{ki}*. The text reads : "2 fat sheep to Nanna(r), 1 fat sheep for *^dSukurru . . . itu ud 28 ba-zal . . . sha(g) Su-kur-ru^{ki}*, itu ezen-an-na."¹⁰⁸

Two building inscriptions of Bur Sin speak of Nanna(r) of *Karzida*,¹⁰⁹ which occurs also in the year formulæ. In another year formula there is Nanna(r) of Ga-esh^{ki}.¹¹⁰

⁹³ ITT. IV. 7402.

⁹⁴ JR. 107 ; GDD. 16, 8.

⁹⁵ TD. 5527.

⁹⁶ CT. 32, 12, III ; HG. 11.

⁹⁷ TAD. 27.

⁹⁸ TRU. III. Rev.

⁹⁹ CT. 32, 12, III ; HG. 11, III.

¹⁰⁰ TEO. 6053 IV.

¹⁰¹ GDD. 16.

¹⁰² JR. 159 ; KDD. 3 ; TRU. 293.

¹⁰³ WTD. 103435 Rev. 7.

¹⁰⁴ STD.

220, 3 ; SA. 163 Rev. I.

¹⁰⁵ TD. 5482, II. 13.

¹⁰⁶ Wengler 42.

¹⁰⁷ STD. 272, 4.

¹⁰⁸ SA. 200.

¹⁰⁹ SAK. 198 (d) 200 (i).

¹¹⁰ ITT. II. 3677.

JOHN BUNYAN AND THE HIGHER CRITICISM.

BY J. RENDEL HARRIS, LITT.D., D.THEOL., ETC.

THE title which I have assigned to this essay is ambiguous in its meaning, and to that extent misleading. It might be taken to imply that John Bunyan had said something on the vexed questions that pass under the collective name of Higher Criticism, whereas a very little reflection on and familiarity with the life and writings of that great and good man would show him to be as innocent of any contact with the perplexities and confusions of the critical world as a babe in arms, or a boy in his early teens (if, indeed, the schoolboy now-a-days does escape the epidemic). So the title must be understood, not in the sense of an enquiry as to what the great preacher and allegorist thought and said about the Higher Criticism, but what the Higher Criticism has to say about the writings of John Bunyan. In other words, we are moving the battle-field of criticism from the Biblical writings, where the clash and play of swords is becoming somewhat tedious, and we propose to transfer it to a period some sixteen centuries later, and to a theme where the use of Greek and Latin weapons of warfare are severely prohibited.

We do this in the interests of the Christian community, who are sore perplexed to hear that this document is interpolated, and that the other is pseudepigraphic and bears a name which is certainly not that of the author ; who are told that St. Peter did not write the second epistle that goes under his name until long after his death, and that perhaps he did not even write the first epistle when he was alive ; that St. Paul's epistles, especially the most famous, are an artificial rag-bag of documents badly assorted, and roughly stitched together ; and that in the time when the New Testament was in the process of formation, it was considered good manners to appropriate other people's writings and re-issue them under your own name, or to write books oneself and issue them under the names of saint and seer more worthy than

oneself of respectful attention. All of which is distressing to the average Christian man, who thinks the heavens are falling if an authorship is disturbed or changed, and has not attained to the philosophic calm of the just man in Horace whom the Heavens, when they do fall, find content and undisturbed amid the celestial wreckage.

So it becomes worth while to remind our timid, or imperfectly philosophical friends, that there are other areas of literature, and of religious literature, where they can observe for themselves the working of critical processes, and test their validity, without running the risk of being reminded that some people aspire to be critics who are not even university graduates. For that purpose, at once of instruction and consolation, we take the writings of John Bunyan, books which had an evangelical circulation as well as an evangelical vitality, and we make the usual inquisitive demands concerning the literature in question, as for instance, whether all that goes under his name was written by him, whether any of his works have been subject to the accretions of the interpolator, or whether, on the other hand, passages have been deleted by himself or his friends, and the like.

To many people such questions are entirely, or almost entirely in the air. They do not know John Bunyan's voluminous writings, running from the *Gospel Truths Opened* of 1656 right up to his death in 1688. They have read the *Pilgrim's Progress* but without realising that a number of years elapsed between the publication of the First Part and the Second Part : they have, perhaps, looked into the imagery of the *Holy War*, or have read that amazing book of spiritual autobiography, the *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, without detecting that large additions were made to this noble spiritual story, in order to refute a shameful slander, and cast down the Accuser of the Brethren. Very few people know more of Bunyan than these three works, if they are fortunate to know as much. It is clear that such a body of literature as is constituted by the Bunyan writings must be critically treated. Those of his works which are undoubtedly genuine must be treated to the Lower Criticism, in order to determine what was the actual language of the writer ; all of them are subject to the Higher Criticism, in order to verify or contradict the authorship assigned to them. For example, in the *Pilgrim's Progress* in the famous scene where the Pilgrims escape from Doubting Castle, they come at last to the great iron gate of the castle, and we are told that

THE
ADVANTAGES
AND
DISADVANTAGES,
OF THE
MARRIAGE-STATE,

As Enter'd into with
Religious or Irreligious Persons,
Delivered under the Similitude of a

DREAM:

With NOTES Explanatory and Improving.

By J. BENNETT Minister of the Gospel.

The Sixth Edition, with Additions of New
CUTS.

BOSWORTH;

Printed by ROBERT GRIMLEY, for the
Author; And Sold by Mr. Ward and
Mrs. POOLE in Hinkley, Mrs.
JANE NEWBERRY in Hugglescoat, and most
Book sellers in the Country.

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXV.

THE
RENDEL HARRIS
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the lock of that gate went 'damnable hard'; there are, however, editions which take a milder view of it; for instance, in an edition published at the price of twopence for Sunday Schools, it is said, 'that lock went very hard'; and the lower criticism decides at once in favour of the harder reading. This is only a specimen: it shows that there are various recensions of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, just as there are varying manuscripts of the New Testament.

In the same way, when we find an edition which omits the incident of Giant Pope and the closely related Giant Pagan, crouching in their cave and biting their nails at the Pilgrims, we shall probably¹ find upon examination that it is an edition brought out under Roman Catholic auspices, and draw the conclusion that 'the shorter reading is not necessarily the earlier reading,' and say that 'when the cause of the variant is known the variant itself will disappear.' But let us turn to the Higher Criticism and to questions of authorship.

First of all we find that there is quite a body of works wrongly ascribed to John Bunyan, and that he himself warned his readers against them. Before Bunyan had brought his *Second Part* in 1684, some one had forged a second part for him under the title

The Second Part of the Pilgrim's Progress, from this present World of Wickedness and Misery to an Eternity of Holiness and Felicity, exactly described under the Similitude of a Dream, etc.

It was this piece of piracy, which prompted the lines at the beginning of the genuine *Second Part*, where Bunyan says,

'tis true some have, of late, to Counterfeit
My pilgrim, to their own, my Title set;
Yea, Others, half my name and Title too;
Have stuck to their Books to make them do;
But yet they, by their Features do declare
Themselves not mine to be, whose 'eer they are.²

So that Bunyan was obliged to invoke the 'argument from style' to protect himself. When we apply the 'argument from style' to Biblical writings we are commonly told that nothing is so uncertain,

¹ Probably but not certainly. There is an early Methodist *Pilgrim's Progress* which makes the same omissions!

² I don't quite know what Bunyan means by 'half my name'; does the 'added title' mean *Minister of the Gospel*? or does he mean the title-page with its illustrations and portrait? The allusions appear to require more than a single imitator or forger.

that one man has many styles, and that the same person was the author of the Biglow Papers and the Vision of Sir Launfal. In the case before us we are told by the author of the genuine books himself, to distinguish the fallacious books 'by their Features,' but the first person to mark the difference is Bunyan himself. No doubt when he brought out his own second part, everyone of any taste could see the difference also. The fictitious book disappeared on its merits, which establishes the justice of the argument from style.

When St. Paul was writing his second epistle to the Thessalonians which must have followed very rapidly upon the first, as fast as the postal arrangements between Athens and Salonika would permit, he interjected a note of warning to his friends. They were not to assume either as the result of spiritual utterances or reasoned discourse in their meetings, or by a letter professing to come from ourselves, that the Day of the Lord is actually at hand. The natural inference is that someone has been producing a second part to the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, and that St. Paul has been aware of it. It will be said that it is unthinkable that such fictions can have been circulated in the earliest days of the Church, and written with the best of intentions. Perhaps so, but in any case, the Bunyan literature furnishes a suggestive parallel, for the imitator, in this case also, meant to complete the argument of the Great Preacher, to fill up what was lacking in his biblical theology, and generally to use the popularity of the previous writer for purposes of edification.

Students of the Pauline epistles will not need to be reminded of other cases, where the Apostle attests the genuineness of what he is writing, by some sign or token by which deceivers can be detected: he has a special signature which can be examined: in the second epistle to the Thessalonians, for example, to which reference has already been made for a warning against forgers and imitators, he takes the pen from the scribe who is writing for him and says: "I, Paul, write the greetings by my own hand. That is the sign by which you may identify every letter of mine. This is the way I write it."

Evidently there has been serious misunderstanding somewhere.

In John Bunyan's case, as we shall see presently, the deception took the form of using his initials, or the first and last letters of his name with intermediate stars. Perhaps this is what Bunyan meant by 'stitching half my name to these books to make them do.' He has to

protest that he prints his name in full, and never writes under a cipher.¹ The Pauline parallel is obvious.

Now let us come a little closer to the fictitious Bunyan literature, and apply the gentlest of critical methods, the most elementary tests of common sense working upon literature.

The best known of this group of writings is the *Third Part of the Pilgrim's Progress*. We have already seen how quickly the false *Second Part* was killed off by the appearance of 'Christiania and her sons and the lovely Mercy.' It seems that Bunyan had a vague idea of a *Third Part*, for he makes the suggestion at the end of the *Second Part* as to the possibility of his going that way again and seeing how his young people had prospered. The hint was caught up soon after his death and a *Third Part* produced. It had a very good run in a number of editions, and was frequently bound up by booksellers with the two genuine parts. A comparison of two title-pages in my possession will show that it was not till after several editions that it was admitted that the third part was, as the title-page says, 'an imposter.' Yet the argument from style ought to have settled the authorship from the start.

We have an interesting parallel in the Pauline writings; in the epistle to the Colossians he tells them to get a copy of the epistle to Laodicea and read it (meaning, perhaps, the epistle which goes under the name of the Epistle to the Ephesians). The allusion provoked an enquiry. Demand created Supply. In a number of MSS. of the Pauline Epistles an Epistle to the Laodiceans is found incorporated. The style ought to have condemned it as a forgery at the first reading; but we have the Bunyan parallel, and the maxim applies that it is possible, under favourable circumstances, to deceive the very elect!

Here is a little volume, without a date, but evidently from the paper and style of printing, of the eighteenth century. The title-page is at length:

¹ On the title-page of the third edition of Bunyan's *Poetical Meditations upon the Last Things*, which go under the name of *One Thing is Needful*, we are told 'that there are certain ballad-sellers about Newgate, and on London Bridge, who have put the two first letters of this author's name to his effigies, to their rhymes and ridiculous books, suggesting to the world as if they were his. Now know that this author publisheth his name at large to all his books; and what you shall see otherwise he disowns.' This edition is of 1688, the year of Bunyan's death.

The
Visions
of
John Bunyan :
being
His Last Remains :
Giving an Account of
The Glories of Heaven
The Terrors of Hell
and of
The World to Come.

London.
Printed for the Booksellers.

It is accompanied by a Preface to the Reader, which is signed at the end with the name of John Bunyan in full. Lest there should be any doubt as to the person intended, the writer says, near the end of the Preface that 'Since the Way to Heaven has been so taking under the similitude of a *Dream*, why should not the Journey's End be as acceptable under the similitude of a *Vision*? Nay, why should it not be more acceptable, since the End is preferable to the Means, and Heaven to the Way that brings us thither. The Pilgrim met with many difficulties, but here they are all over; all storms and tempests here are hush'd in silence and serenity.' The allusion to the Pilgrims and to the Dream of the Way to Heaven, shows that it is our own John Bunyan who is intended for the Author. Moreover, from the allusion to the success which has attended the publication of the Progress of the Pilgrim who is spoken of in the singular, we must assume this book, if genuine, to have been written later than 1678, and perhaps earlier than 1684, when the *Second Part* was published.

The story begins by telling us autobiographically how I, whose name is Epenetus, came under the influence of a companion who held atheistic views, and contended that there was neither God nor Devil, Heaven nor Hell: when he died he designed to be buried in a field or garden if he could, that there from his ashes might spring up curious and delightful flowers, which was the utmost happiness he could propose to himself; and should be very well satisfied to find all those spirits and powers he was now possessed of exerted in the variegated beauties of nature.' The language is a little ornate for J.B. The wicked young man further continued that 'for aught he knew in the various metempsychosis of nature, some ages hence, he might impregnate a

human body, as he believed he had done many ages past.' Here again the language is a little out of John's reach.

Epenetus, thereupon, decides to make away with himself, but is saved from the fatal step by a secret voice of one that spake to him, to whom he presently made prayer for light and leading. The prayer was answered by a vision, mixed Daniel and Dante. A Celestial being of great splendour undertakes to pilot him through Heaven and Hell, so as finally to dispel any residual tendencies to atheism or suicide.

In Heaven he meets his mother, from which it appears that Epenetus, or John Bunyan, had lost his mother by death, but that the rest of the family were still alive. Epenetus enquires whether she would like to know in what condition he left his father and his brethren, when he was carried to the celestial world. The reply is appalling: "No! since I have put off the body I have put off all relations in the flesh: Here God, (said she) is all in all unto me, I have no husband but the blessed Bridegroom of my Soul: he who is *fairer than the children of men*: who is alone desirable to me. Nor have I here any relations else." She goes on to explain that whatever becomes of her family, she is quite content; if they were damned, she would still rejoice.

As we were criticising for authorship, all we can make of this incident is, that the book purports to be written after the death of the mother, and before the death of any of the rest of the family.

Later on in the visions, Epenetus goes to Hell and meets a lost soul whom he recognises to be Thomas Hobbes the author of the *Leviathan*. The *Dict. of National Biography* reminds us that Hobbes was 'reviled on all sides as the typical atheist, materialist, political absolutist and preacher of ethical selfishness'; and this description would be a valid explanation of his unhappy lot in the other world. Hobbes died in 1679 at the advanced age of 91: so we have again a superior limit for the composition of the book, whether it be Bunyan's or not, unless we choose to assume a writer who spitefully sent Hobbes to hell in his life-time. As Bunyan died in 1688, and we have already shown from the preface that the book is later than 1678, the date of Hobbes' death agrees very well with the time suggested.

Now let us turn to the Registers of the Bunyan family. We know from the extant records that "in his sixteenth year his mother sickened and died, and within another month his sister Margaret also, the play-mate of his childhood, was carried across the fields to the same quiet grave in Elstow Churchyard. Nor was this all. Before yet another month had gone by over this twice-opened grave, his father had brought home another wife to take the vacant place."¹

It appears from this that the writer of the tract was correct in making Bunyan's mother the first of the circle to die. Possibly a cynical critic might add that there appears to be also a historical foundation for the alienation between Mrs. Bunyan and her husband : but in these matters the modern point of view differs a good deal from that of two hundred years since. We admit, then, that the tract appears to be conformed to historical reality in its affirmation concerning the priority in death of John Bunyan's mother. The question then arises when did the father die or the rest of the family, assuming that Margaret is left out of account ? The parish register at Elstow records his burial on the 7th Feb. 1676 ; accordingly we should conclude that the book before us was written at least as early as 1675. But this date is rendered impossible by the preface, which records the production of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, which goes back to 1678. It follows, then, on just principles of criticism that either the preface of the book is a forgery, or perhaps the whole volume ; for the vision described makes Thomas Bunyan alive (he dying in 1675), and, as we have shown, makes Thomas Hobbes, the author of the *Leviathan*, to be dead, an event which occurred in 1679, and the *Pilgrim's Progress* to be extant, which cannot be the case before 1678. The case is now going against the author and his publisher. It cannot be Bunyan.

When we come to the end of the book the writer relates how he took pen and ink and wrote down the Visions, which he had seen, sub-joining thereto the 'Poems following on Heaven and Hell.' After which he recites a doxology and invokes a blessing on the book.

When we turn the page to see the Poems which are subjoined, we find that the first is described as

A Prospect of Heaven.

¹ John Brown, *Life of Bunyan*, p. 41.

It begins :

There is a Land of Pure Delight.

It is an adaptation of the best known of Dr. Watts' Hymns : and the second, whose title is like unto it,

A Prospect of Hell,

is from the same source : it contains the familiar lines,

Fear (Far) in the deep where darkness dwells,
Great horror and despair,
Justice has built a dismal hell,
And stores up vengeance there.

The Higher Criticism inquires whether John Bunyan who died in 1688 can really have been familiar with Watts' Hymn Book, and concludes in favour of a non-Bunyan authorship somewhere in the eighteenth century ; and later than 1706 when Watts began to publish. It need scarcely be said that the book is condemned to the same non-authorship by every consideration of style.

Now for the verification of the results of criticism. In Mr. Offor's Library, which was destroyed by fire at the time when it was on sale by Sotheby, there was a copy of this very book. Its title was

The World to come. The Glories of Heaven
and the terrors of Hell. Lively Display'd under
the similitude of a vision by G. L.

To this was prefixed a frontispiece, a copper plate, representing Bunyan as in a dream. The title bore the date 1711. Mr. Offor had identified the author with George Larkin. What is interesting is to watch the gradual assertion of the Bunyan authorship. It began by borrowing a plate from the *Pilgrim's Progress*. A second copy in the catalogue of the same sale carries the appropriation of authorship a step further, and replaces Larkin's initials by J.B. The copy dated 1711 is apparently the *editio princeps*. At that date, it was quite easy to appropriate the newly published hymns of Isaac Watts.

Our next experiment in criticism is concerned with a very interesting volume whose title is as follows :—

THE
ADVANTAGES
AND
DISADVANTAGES
OF THE
MARRIED-STATE
as enter'd into with
Religious or Irreligious Persons,
Delivered under the Similitude of a
DREAM
with NOTES explanatory and Improving.
by J. B * * * * N. Minister of the Gospel.
The Sixth Edition, with Additions of New
CUTS.

BOSWORTH

Printed by ROBERT GRIMLEY, for the Author;
and sold by Mr. WARD and Mrs. POOLE in
Hinkley, Mrs. JANE NEWBERRY in Hugglescoat,
and most Booksellers in the Country.

Printed in the year MDCCLXXV.

I have given the title-page in full from my own copy, as there is no copy of this edition in the British Museum, nor any copy at all except a late Kilmarnock reprint of the year 1826. Mr. Ofor had a copy which was complete, whereas mine was imperfect : he describes it in his edition of Bunyan's *Works* (iii. 65). This copy, which probably perished in the fire which destroyed his valuable Bunyan collection, had a conventional Frontispiece, taken from an edition of the *Pilgrim's Progress* which shows that the cipher on the title-page was meant to be filled up with the letters of Bunyan's name. Mr. Ofor says : 'The Frontispiece is the Sleeping Portrait in the Lion's Den, with skull and cross-bones ; above are the Pilgrim with his burden, and the Wicket-gate ; under this is inscribed John Bunyan of Bedford.'

Mr. Ofor adds : 'It was impudent enough to publish this for the author in 1775,' but perhaps this is too severe on the Bosworth printer, who may have taken over the words 'for the Author' from an earlier edition. There is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the statement that this is the sixth edition. If this is a false Bunyan it had a good run in its time. When we turn to the Kilmarnock edition in the British Museum, we find the Bunyan authorship got rid of by the

addition of the word 'Jun,' *i.e.* John Bunyan the Younger. The title now runs

The advantages, etc. etc.
under the similitude of a Dream

Improved and amended by John Bunyan Jun.
Kilmarnock.

Printed by H. Crawford, Bookseller,
1826.

(This edition also removes all the 'margents' which are an excellent imitation of Bunyan, and are so characteristic of the early editions of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.)

We can use the Kilmarnock edition, if necessary, to complete our own copy, but we will begin with the latter, as lying nearer to the original by some 50 years.

The theme of the book is the problem of mixed marriages; that subject which engrossed the attention of Ezra the reformer and his friends, when they returned from captivity, and found that racial purity had been corrupted by exile. The spiritual analogy to this problem appears in the New Testament Epistles, which show much care and concern that marriage shall only be in the Lord, and lay down general warnings against alliance between believer and unbeliever. In this sense the problem is with us still, ever vital and seldom spoken to. Probably it was the form in which the difficulty presented itself to the exiles from Babylon, which suggested to our author the similitude of his dream. He lays its foundation in Babylon (illustrated by a marvellous woodcut), and the hero of the piece is introduced to us as planning to journey to Canaan, and seeking for himself a companion (of the opposite sex) for the journey thither. The first part of the book might be described as Ghastly Failure. He surrenders to the wrong girl, a mere Babylonian.

"He met with one who appeared compliable to his desire, tho' she had no knowledge of the way nor any desire to it, only it seemed a matter indifferent, and therefore, as he was inclined to undertake the journey, she would condescend and compliment him with her company." The writer explains the slow progress they made in a journey which one of them was undertaking without any serious intention, how they loitered, wasted their time over trifles, sat down in the shade (a wood-

cut assists us to the understanding of this), and finally reached the River Euphrates, were overtaken by a sudden rise in the river, and swept away. The margin explains to us that the loitering means Old Age, and the Euphrates is Death.

We are now introduced to a second hero, the younger brother, who has the same problem to solve, and who also is entrapped by a Babylonian. He does his best to bring his companion to the same view of life as himself but he found, 'when he attempted to lead her into the way, that she had no Feet, she could not move a step further than he carried her, and a heavy Burthen she proved !' A very Bunyanesque passage follows in which the distaste of the companion for the things of the Spirit is brought out :—

'If he met with any Gardens of Spices or refreshing Springs on the way, he would offer her to eat or drink with him, but she had no Taste. If he found Sweet Flowers, he would pluck, and give them to her ; but she had no smell, nor could have any delight in them. If he had any delightful prospects by the way, he would endeavour to show them to his companion, but she had no eyes. If he met with any Fellow or Traveller by the way he would invite her to enjoy their Company, but she was never sociable with himself or any other person who spoke the language of Canaan ; for it was a language which she could not Learn.' Poor Lad ! at this point a page is missing in my copy. It appears they came to the Jordan, and he made ready to cross. Just as he was landing on Canaan's shore, he turned back, and saw her sitting on the sand on the further shore ; and beheld the 'River returning with such an overflow, as carried her along the rapid Stream, into the Dead Sea.'

That shows a knowledge of geography, at all events. A woodcut again assists the imagination. Thus ends Part I.

Part II. introduces an elder brother, who has the same problem in life. He is much attracted by the superior culture of the Babylonish maids, and holds a long dialogue with himself, which in many respects is quite in the Bunyan manner. He asks himself in the end whether he might not be an Instrument to engage the Mind of such a Maid of Babylon to walk the Blessed Way. The answer is Calvinistic in its severity. We learn that

'All the accomplishments that a Person can possibly receive from *Babylon* can never prepare, qualify, nor dispose them for travelling to

Canaan ; nor will it by any means induce or incline any person to receive the real Knowledge or Love of that Country.

‘(The Margin explains, That is of the Earth is still earthly, however refined by Art and Industry.)

‘Those who are not powerfully called by the King’s Commandment and inwardly attracted by a vital Influence, can never be engaged by any other Motive or persuasion whatsoever, for there is nothing in the Nature of a *Babylonian* (without the Inchoation of new Principles) that is capable of attraction.’

Here the writer has given John Bunyan away, whom he had been imitating very closely. Did John ever talk about the ‘Inchoation of new Principles?’ Surely he would have said plain ‘Beginning’ or some word of equal simplicity. My friend, whoever you are, and in spite of your six editions, you can hardly be John Bunyan the Tinker.

Well ! the young man breaks away from the tempting culture and grace of feminine Babylon, and presently by good hap and as God wot, he met a young virgin going the same way as himself, who had also broken with the Frauds and Jealousies of Babylon, and as they got into conversation, ‘their affections began to grow warm towards one another : it was a very comfortable Interview, and their minds were refreshed by each other’s conversation. He began to think that they might be pleasing and profitable companions all the Way.’ He found out that she was a King’s daughter and travelling to the Royal Palace. (An attached woodcut at this point appears to suggest the King’s Palace, under the form of a very average tenement : the Lovers are well depicted.)

The story then turns to Love-making and Love made. Some of it is very pretty and again quite Bunyan-like. Their mutual converse in spiritual things is well described :—

“If one found a refreshing Spring by the Way, would call the other to come and drink. If one found any refreshing fruit, sweet Spices, or delightful Flowers, would pluck and bring to the other. If one heard any Joyful Tidings, would come rejoicing and tell the other. If one had any pleasant prospects of the Kingdom, would come rejoicing and tell the other. (A woodcut now advises us of a hill with a look-out station and a tower, from which they see all Babylon in flames of burning pitch, and bless themselves for their fortune in having escaped from the doomed city.)

The last scene of all brings them to Jordan's banks, and a hill of vision, from which they view the landscape o'er. A woodcut again assists us to see how they rested in a delightful harbour, and how they climbed Prospect Hill and saw *Jerusalem*, the royal palace, the goodly mountain of Lebanon, etc. Then they looked down below where Jordan roll'd between, and beheld the great High Priest in His shining robes waiting to carry them over. The ecstasy of that vision and the songs of the saints that broke on their ears, became to the writer the psychic shock which made him awake; and behold! it was a Dream. So ends the tale. (A woodcut attempts to express the attained Felicity.)

It is clear from the style of the work that it is meant to be Bunyan, and sometimes the tale is not unworthy of the suggested author, but—'inchoation of new principles,' No, my friend!

On the back page of the little book the Bosworth printer has advertised a long list of Buniana, from the *Pilgrim's Progress* onward. In the course of his catalogue another Pseudo-Bunyan turns up, without any mark of suspicion: it is called

Heart's Ease—Heart's Trouble or a Sovereign
Remedy against all Troubles of the Heart.

There is a copy of this in the Rylands Library;¹ it is the work of James Burwood, but is attributed to John Bunyan and has his portrait prefixed. It is a Sermon of a very diffuse kind on John xvi. 1: 'Let not your heart be troubled.' It seems to have been published under the initials of the author, which easily led to confusion with Bunyan. It is absolutely unlike to Bunyan's style, and quite undeserving of serious study, or of a place among the Pseudo-Bunyan literature.²

¹ The copy in Mr. Ofor's Library was described as a 12mo, under date 1691, and was said to be the second edition. The author was J.B. and must have been a contemporary of Bunyan.

² In Calamy's *Account of the Ejected Ministers* (ii. p. 220) we read as follows:—

Dartmouth. Petrocks. Mr. John Burdwood.

"He dy'd in the same town where he was ejected, after he had endured the most exquisite torment by the Strangury; which made him the more able to pen those books which are called *Heart's-Ease* and *Helps for Faith and Repentance in Times of Affliction*."

Thus the authorship is clear, and it is only the initials (J.B.) that led to misunderstanding, and caused some booksellers to think they had, or could persuade that they had, a work by John Bunyan.

We have now shown that the literature of our own people furnishes striking instances of well-intentioned religious forgeries, and of imitations which are, from our point of view in modern days, really dishonest. Books covered themselves, and sometimes their nakedness, with the shadow of great names. Sometimes they started out to say what the great man who was imitated ought to have said, and would have said if he had thought of it. And this pseudonymous literature is sometimes contemporary with the writer who is plagiarised or imitated, and has to be put under a publisher's or author's ban. It is the business of the Higher Criticism to decide all these questions of authorship and of originality. The study of an out-of-the-way corner of literature, like that which we have been engaged in, will help us to settle some Biblical and post-Biblical questions, such as the authenticity and date of Daniel, or of Enoch ; the authorship of the Peter-apocalypse, and some parts of the Clementine literature, the question of the canonical second epistle of Peter and the like. We may, at all events, familiarise ourselves with the methods of criticism, and see to it that those dreadful higher critics are not allowed to employ on sacred pages methods which would not be tolerated in literature of a non-Biblical character, belonging to other times and places of production. If, by using lawful methods and making proper inductions from observed facts, they can persuade us as to the authorship of books upon which they turn their searchlights, whether they decide for or against their genuineness or their integrity, we shall submit to the persuasion.

PAUL THE APOSTLE : HIS PERSONALITY AND ACHIEVEMENT.^{1,2}

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THE uncertainty in which the chronology of Paul's life is involved makes it impossible for us to say with any confidence how it was apportioned between his pre-Christian and his Christian period. But before his conversion he had carried on an energetic persecution of the Christians in Palestine and had been entrusted by the High Priest with letters authorising him to undertake

¹ An amplification of the lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, the 14th Dec., 1927.

² The sources for our knowledge of Paul and his work are his own Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. Of the former I regard as genuine all but the Pastoral Epistles. Genuine Pauline material is to be found in 2 Timothy and perhaps in Titus. This is confirmed by P. N. Harrison's elaborate investigations, *The Problem of the Pastoral Epistles* (1921). Harnack's most recent pronouncement is in his *Die Briefsammlung des Apostels Paulus* (1926). He thinks that Dr. Harrison greatly overestimates the value of lexical statistics (pp. 74 f.); but he reaches a similar result; they are pseudo-Pauline writings in which Pauline material has been embodied, most of all in 2 Timothy which may on the other hand be an interpolated Pauline Epistle (pp. 14 f.). On the other hand E. Meyer, *Ursprung und Anfänge des Christentums*, Vol. III. (1923), pp. 132-4, rejects the authenticity absolutely, and regards the attempt to find even trustworthy material in 2 Timothy as completely untenable.

I have always regarded the *Acts of the Apostles* as the composition of Luke; but in spite of the work of Ramsay, and even of Harnack, the critical tide has all along continued to flow strongly in the other direction; and Loisy has outstripped his German colleagues in the negative character of his criticism. It was refreshing to find that E. Meyer, in the work mentioned above, with his wide experience, immense erudition, and all the prestige which belongs to our foremost historian of antiquity had come down decisively on the side of tradition at this point; all the more so that at other points his views are often quite radical.

an extension of this persecution to Damascus. He can hardly, then have been quite young at the time ; if we think of him as from thirty to thirty-five we shall perhaps not be far from the mark. We do not depreciate the revolutionary effect of his conversion, if we recognise that his personality and character were by this time largely formed. The personality received a new direction, he was dominated by new motives, his character was deepened and enriched. But there was a fundamental unity beneath the differences which marked the two stages of his career.

He was a Jew of Tarsus and a Roman citizen. Whatever his pride that he had been born and bred in Tarsus—"no mean city"—and that by birth he was also a Roman citizen, his pride of race and religion went far deeper. He gloried in the purity of his blood, he was a Hebrew, the child of Hebrew parents, sprung from the tribe of Benjamin. Even after he had become a Christian and received his commission as Apostle to the Gentiles his patriotism was intense ; his love for his own people, which pursued him with such rancorous hate, burned with a constant and passionate glow. He yearned for the salvation of his kinsfolk. His heart ached for them with unceasing pain. He, for whom to live was Christ and who poured out on Him all the wealth of adoration and love of a nature so rich in loyalty and affection, could yet be willing to be anathema from Him if only by so supreme a surrender he could secure their salvation. He was, it is true, very conscious of the defects of his nation. In pungent language he speaks of the Jews as those "who both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and drove out us, and please not God, and are contrary to all men ; forbidding us to speak to the Gentiles that they may be saved ; to fill up their sins alway : but the wrath is come upon them to the uttermost" (1 Thess. ii. 14-16).

He was profoundly conscious, none the less, of Israel's religious and moral superiority to the Gentiles. The advantage of the Jew was "much every way." To his kinsmen, according to the flesh, had been entrusted the oracles of God ; they bore the proud name of Israelites ; to them belonged the adoption and the Shekinah, the covenants, the Law, the Divinely ordained ceremonial, the precious promises ; they had the patriarchs for their ancestors and from them sprang the Messiah on the human side of His being (Rom. ix. 3-5). Apostle to the Gentiles though he is, he insists that it is Israel which has been

and remains the true olive tree ; the Gentiles are grafted in, but in order that Israel may be incited to accept the Gospel. He desired to carry over what he could from the old religion into the new. He had a strong sense of continuity ; and here we note his balance as contrasted with his radical disciple Marcion, who regarded the Law as the gift of an inferior God, a rigid and pedantic legalist, and thought of Jesus as making a completely new beginning. He constantly appealed to the Old Testament in his correspondence even with the Gentiles, and referred scarcely at all to Greek writers. He had all the recoil of the Jew from pagan vice, his horror of polytheism and idolatry, his passionate monotheism. He was proud of his training under Gamaliel, though the fanaticism of the disciple stood in glaring contrast to the tolerance of his master. Born and trained a Jew, he remained a Jew to the end.

He was a Jew—but a Jew of the Dispersion. He was proud of his city, Gentile city though it was. In those early impressionable years he was in constant contact with Gentile life. His mastery of the Greek language was such as he could hardly have acquired in later years. Not improbably Aramaic might often be heard in his home, but in any case he must have become familiar with it in Palestine and Syria. He may have had some knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy and of various types of Gentile religion. But his Jewish conditions would insulate him from Paganism to a greater extent than is often recognised. I find it difficult to believe that the rigid Pharisee, brought up by parents who belonged to that straitest of sects, can have studied at the University of Tarsus. Nor is it likely that he would know much about Gentile religion in any intimate way. He would learn about it in conversation ; and public ceremonial he could observe. But he would never visit a heathen temple, still less would he have any contact with Mystery religions.

Naturally these two factors, Jewish and Greek, did not remain distinct and flow side by side without mingling. They were blended by the unity of his personality. But he was also a Roman citizen, with an imperial outlook. To his pride of race was added the pride of possessing by birth a privilege, to which great advantage and prestige were attached and for which large sums were willingly paid.

Physically he does not appear to have been impressive. He was in bodily presence weak. Apparently he suffered during a long stretch

of his ministry from some serious physical trouble. This may have been malarial fever, or possibly opthalmia ; we have scarcely sufficient evidence for diagnosis ; but the medical evidence seems not to favour the view that it was epilepsy.¹ Yet the immensity of his labours, the burden of the responsibility which continually rested upon him, the perilous experiences through which he passed with safety, the privations from which he suffered, the cruel mishandling he had repeatedly to endure²—all testify to the toughness of his constitution. The suggestion of physical insignificance is confirmed by the fact that the people of Lystra identified Barnabas with Zeus and Paul with Hermes. A famous description in *The Acts of Paul and Thecla* is more detailed, but while it corroborates the suggestion as to his size and physical appearance, it adds what we might otherwise have expected as to the charm and attractiveness of his personality. He is described as “a man little of stature, thin-haired upon the head, crooked in the legs, of good state of body, with eyebrows joining, and nose somewhat hooked, full of grace : for sometimes he appeared like a man, and sometimes he had the face of an angel.” (Quoted from Dr. M. R. James’ translation in *The Apocryphal New Testament*, p. 273.)

I pass on to consider his intellectual qualities and equipment. According to the statement in the speech he is said to have made to the Jews from the stairs of the castle, he was brought up in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel (Acts xxii. 3). This is not recorded elsewhere ; and Loisy sets it aside because it occurs in a speech which he regards as an invention by the redactor of Acts. He adds that there is nothing to suggest that Paul had been a rabbi though he may have listened to discourses by the rabbis. The redactor’s motive in making the statement was that he wished to claim for Paul that he was perfect in Judaism, and so he asserts that the apostle had had the best Jewish education. Loisy’s whole attitude to the redactor, whose very existence is extremely doubtful, is so morbidly suspicious and sceptical that we may well distrust any conclusion based on the general premiss which seems to underlie his criticism, that unless we have independent corroboration we must approach his statements with a resolute will to

¹ See Ramsay, *The Teaching of Paul* (1913), Section XLVIII, “The theory that Paul was an epileptic.”

² See especially the amazing catalogue of labours and sufferings in 2 Cor. xi. 23-33 (cf. iv. 8-12, vi. 4-10).

disbelieve. The statement in Acts xxii. 3 is quite incidental. If it had been one of his "fictions," the redactor would presumably have made more of it, and introduced it when his hero was introduced.

This is connected, however, with the denial that Paul had any contact with the Palestinian Church before his conversion. Mommsen inferred this from Gal. i. 22,¹ "I was still unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ." Loisy takes the same view. Bousset adopted it in the first edition of his *Kyrios Christos* (1913), but abandoned it under Wellhausen's influence in *Jesus der Herr* (1916), p. 31 (see also *Kyrios Christos*, 2nd ed., p. 75). It would be just as legitimate to infer from the words in the following verse, "he who once persecuted us," that the victims of his persecution were to be found in Judæa. Indeed Wendland, whose treatment of the New Testament narratives is often pretty sceptical, says, "Gal. i. 23 completely establishes the fact of his residence in Jerusalem before his conversion. There he became a fanatical zealot for the Law."² Moreover, the attempt to deny outright or even to minimise this hostile collision with the community in Jerusalem involves far too violent a handling of the narrative in Acts. Nothing can be based on Paul's failure to mention the actual scene of his persecution. He does not mention Damascus itself in the reference to his conversion (Gal. i. 15 f.); and it is only from the incidental remark, "and again I returned to Damascus," that we learn that Damascus had been the starting-point for his journey to Arabia, and therefore the scene of his conversion. But for this, and the similarly incidental reference in 2 Cor. xi. 32 f., Loisy might very well, on his critical principles, have treated the whole story of Paul's connection with Damascus as one of the innumerable fictions which he credits to the account of his unspeakable redactor.

I should not have tarried so long on these points, but for the fact that they are pressed against the generally accepted beliefs that Paul was a student in the Rabbinical schools of Jerusalem, and therefore trained in the type of Judaism current there; and that he persecuted

¹ *Zeitschrift für die neueste. Wissenschaft* (ZNTW), 1901, p. 85. See on the other hand J. Weiss, *Das Urchristentum* (1913), p. 136; with this Von Dobschütz expresses agreement, *Der Apostel Paulus*, I. (1926), pp. 49, 57. Feine, *Der Apostel Paulus* (1927), p. 420 f., also rejects the view, arguing that "Judæa" is used to distinguish the province from Jerusalem, the capital city.

² *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur* (2nd ed., 1912), p. 242.

the Christians in Jerusalem and therefore gained his earliest knowledge of Christianity from his contact with the mother church. His Judaism would on that supposition be Judaism of the Dispersion; and the Christianity with which he first came into contact would also be Christianity of the Dispersion and not of Jerusalem. It would therefore be possible to suspect that it was already somewhat Hellenised or at least de-Judaised.¹ It must be remembered that this is not disinterested criticism. Its object is, by discrediting Paul's contact with the Palestinian Church before his conversion, to detach his interpretation of the Gospel from that of the primitive community. This involves the rejection of the whole representation that he had anything to do with the persecution of the Palestinian Christians, and this again is made much easier if the whole story of his residence in Jerusalem can be set aside, with the incidental advantage that the type of Judaism in

¹ Heitmüller (ZNTW, 1912, p. 330) says "Paul is separated from Jesus not only by the primitive community, but by yet another link. The development runs in this series: Jesus—primitive community—Hellenistic Christianity—Paul." Bousset had independently reached the same conclusion, and warmly approved of Heitmüller's formulation (*Kyrios Christos*, 2nd ed., p. 75, cf. *Jesus der Herr*, pp. 30 ff.). The Christians at Damascus may have represented Hellenistic Christianity; but if we can trust the narrative in Acts—and in its main features we have found it trustworthy—then Paul's contact with that group was later in time than and much inferior in importance to his contact with the primitive community. The question might also be raised whether Paul had been in contact with Jesus Himself. This has been generally—and in my judgment rightly—regarded as improbable; but among ourselves the affirmative view has been taken by Ramsay and J. H. Moulton. It has been defended most thoroughly by J. Weiss in his *Paulus und Jesus* (1910, pp. 22 ff., Eng. transl. *Paul and Jesus*, 1909, pp. 28-56). Cf. also his note in *Das Urchristentum*, p. 137. I cannot refrain from adding how deeply I deplore the premature death of a scholar so gifted and so stimulating, which deprived us of his own conclusion of *Das Urchristentum*, of the contemplated companion volume dealing with the religious background of primitive Christianity and the life and teaching of Jesus, and of his commentary on 2 Corinthians. Von Dobschütz agrees with J. Weiss' contention (*Der Apostel Paulus*, p. 50), and says, "If Paul was not accidentally absent from Jerusalem, scarcely anything else is possible than that he himself saw Jesus there and perhaps was even present at His execution. The former may be inferred from 2 Cor. iii. 16; the latter would best explain the central significance which the Crucified later possessed in the preaching of the apostle" (p. 3). See also the striking discussion in Feine, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-5, reaching the same conclusion. Loofs (*Wer war Jesus Christus?* 1916, p. 163) favours this view, but adds that the question is one of subordinate significance. E. Meyer (*op. cit.* III., 339) regards it as very dubious.

which he was trained was not that of the Rabbinical schools in Jerusalem, but the Judaism of Tarsus affected by its Gentile environment.

It is, of course, obvious that he was familiar with Judaism as it existed in Tarsus ; but it would be specially with its religion, ethics and peculiar customs that he would be in contact as a boy ; the knowledge of Judaism as a theology, of the scholasticism of the rabbis and their exegetical method and dialectic he would gain in Jerusalem. There, too, he would become acquainted with Christianity, as it existed in its primitive form.

He was, accordingly, thoroughly educated on Jewish lines. The positive value of this education consisted not so much in the intrinsic value of what he actually learnt as in the intellectual training which the discipline gave him. At the same time it did equip him very effectively for dealing with his Jewish Christian critics when he was contending for the freedom of the Gospel. His controversial passages exhibit great subtlety of argument and skill in dialectic. If we feel, as at points we must, that the reasoning does not impress us, we ought not to criticise the apostle on that account. He was not writing for us but for men of his own age and race. He met them on their own ground and turned their own weapons against them. As we come to know him, we realise more and more how thoroughly Jewish he was—a truth of which we ought not to lose sight when we are reconstructing his theology.

But he was not lost in intricate subtleties, nor did he concentrate on minutiae. He handled large subjects in a large way ; he could lift them clear out of all littleness and narrowness. He dealt with trivial things in a great way, not with great things in a trivial way. He treated them in the light of eternal principles. He was a controversialist of the first order, in virtue not only of the keenness and resourcefulness with which he analysed the position of his opponents or the skill with which he expounded and the cogency with which he defended his own positions, but in virtue also of his sweep of view and his gift of relating the particular to the universal.

Nor can we deny him the virtue of originality. However much he drew from various sources—and the extent of his debt and the identity of his creditors are the subject of animated debate—we ought to recognise to the full how largely his presentation of Christianity was

his own. He was a pioneer of the first rank. He felt that Christ had made all things new and he was deeply conscious how fresh and new his own message was.

But we should do him a grave injustice if we thought of him as simply formulating new ideas. He had the systematic gift and built his ideas into a coherent structure.¹ The Gospel which he preached did not consist of a number of disconnected doctrines ; it was a system in which the ideas were intimately related to each other and fused into an organic whole. To him we owe the first Christian theology, apologetic, and philosophy of history. But though the theology is a great intellectual achievement and could have been created only by a profound and original thinker, it would be a serious error to think of it as the product of pure reasoning. It was rooted in a great religious and ethical experience and we can understand and do it justice only as we have entered into the spiritual conflict which darkened his life under the Law and have passed on into his radiant assurance of inward peace and reconciliation with God. That personal experience gave him his central doctrine of a mystical union with Christ, achieved by an act of self-renouncing trust in which he died to his old life and rose again to the new, attaining in Christ a new status, a new character and a new destiny. It supplied him with his interpretation of his old life without Christ. The futile struggle between the higher and the lower nature, which ruptured the inward harmony of his personality when he awoke to the consciousness of a moral order and instinctively rebelled against it, suggested his doctrine of the flesh, that wholly evil side of him in which sin slumbered till it was wakened by the coming of the Law. That this individual experience found its explanation in a racial experience, is true, and that in formulating this explanation Paul went into history and discovered it in the two racial personalities, Adam and Christ, is also true. And that in doing so he drew upon doctrines which he received from others and did not entirely create may be freely recognised. But Paul's theory did not start with these representative figures ; it had its rise in the drama of tragedy and of rapture which had been enacted within his own breast. But naturally,

¹ I am well aware that a strong current runs in the opposite direction, represented in an extreme form by such scholars as Wrede, but stated in a more moderate form by others. I adhere to the position I stated in my *Quintessence of Paulinism* (1918), pp. 5 f.

with his philosophic interest, he could not rest content without moving behind the experience of individuals to discover a universal cause. It may seem a trivial matter whether we suppose that he started with the universal and deduced from it the particular instance, or whether the individual case came first and led on to the generalisation. But really it is not trivial. For our estimate of Paul it matters much whether his central doctrines were born out of his own moral struggle and victory, or whether the personal doctrine was but the logical application of a philosophical theory. The doctrine which is born out of experience comes to us with other credentials than one which is created by theological speculation, and it speaks to us a far more intimate message. Paul was not the incarnation of cold inhuman thought, there was a profoundly emotional element in the experience which lay behind his doctrine. To this aspect of the apostle's personality I must now turn.

He had an emotional nature of exceptional depth and richness. He loved his people who had spurned him and crucified his Lord with a love far surpassing the common measure. I have already reminded you that he bore unceasing pain and sorrow in his heart for his kinsfolk according to the flesh ; and if only they could be saved was willing to become himself anathema from Christ. He loved his Churches and prayed constantly for them ; he was heartbroken over their failures, but filled with joy when he heard of their moral and spiritual triumphs. He was able to inspire deep affection in his converts. He had a remarkable attraction for younger men whom he gathered about him. They served him with filial devotion ; he returned it with kindness and generous confidence and loved them with a deep and tender affection. He counted love the finest grace of the Christian character, the loftiest virtue of the Christian life, apart from which all spiritual gifts, however splendid, lost their value. He sang of its excellence in sweet and noble strains, whose matchless phrases still strike on our ears as at once an inspiration and a challenge.

In Paul strength and sweetness met together. For he was not all sweetness. He had a virile character ; he was a dominant and masterful personality. He knew his own mind and was prepared if necessary to impose his will. He could on occasion cow his opponents into submission. He had great moral courage. He did not shrink from rebuking even Peter, the most commanding personality among the immediate disciples of Jesus, the most revered and influential member

of the apostolic band. Paul was Peter's junior and his apostolic status was by no means universally conceded. The attempts of this upstart, once a rigid Pharisee and resolute persecutor, to force the pace were hotly resented. The Jewish Christians who had followed Peter in his liberal attitude towards the Gentile converts now shared the moral cowardice of his retreat. Even Barnabas had been carried away and had given a misplaced exhibition of a conciliatory temper towards the emissaries of James, but of bigoted exclusiveness towards his Gentile brethren. Then the long-suffering Paul, who had watched with pain the growing rift within the fellowship, could keep silent no longer. He withstood Peter to his face before them all and in incisive words brought home to him the inconsistency with his principles which his timorous narrowness involved.¹

Yet where principle was not at stake Paul himself was conciliatory. He displayed a sympathetic imagination in his attitude to views which he did not share; a tender consideration for the scruples of weaker brethren, which his robust good sense brushed aside as in themselves insignificant. These weak brethren for whom Christ had died were very dear to him. He flames out in indignation at the selfish and flippant lack of consideration shown to them by the strong, the men who rightly saw that such scruples had no substance and encouraged the weak to disobey their conscience. "Who is tripped up," he exclaims, "and I do not burn with indignation at the outrage?"

¹ Loisy judges Paul to have been more to blame for his lack of moderation than Peter and Barnabas for their concession to Jewish prejudices. He supposes that the Church of Antioch did not stand by him, and that he no longer had any connexion with it. The evidence of Acts xviii. 22 f. to the contrary is set aside (see his *L'Épître aux Galates*, 1916, pp. 124 ff., *Les Actes des Apôtres*, pp. 607-11, 614-6). Loisy, it must be remembered, is very unsympathetic with Paul. He says that Barnabas was at least as great a man; greater, he thinks apparently, if he wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews (*op. cit.*, p. 616). Von Dobschütz, on the other hand, believes that we must infer from Paul's way of telling the story and from the later course of events that the victory lay with Paul, but that Paul had lost his joy in co-operation with Barnabas (*op. cit.*, p. 9). E. Meyer, reminding us here of the Tübingen critics, argues that the controversy left a permanent breach between Peter and Paul, the senior apostle attacking Paul in his own churches (Galatia, Corinth) and finally in Rome (*op. cit.*, III., 424-6, 432-6, 441 f., 455-9, 464, 493-500). It is not likely that this will find much acceptance. Paul's subsequent relations with Jerusalem, especially his zeal in raising funds to relieve the impoverished members of the mother Church, make the theory of a bitter and permanent feud with Peter very difficult.

This sense of the sanctity of conscience and the tender regard for it even when morbid and suffering from moral hyperæsthesia leads on to the consideration of his ethical principles and practice. His superb intellectual power, his intense emotional glow were matched by moral insight and moral passion. Even before he became a Christian he had the advantage of a great body of elevated ethical teaching in the Old Testament and the current Judaism. He must also have attained some familiarity with Greek ethics, in particular, it would seem, with Stoic ethics. But when he became a Christian the teaching and the life of Jesus made an ineffaceable impression upon him. Thus he stood in the true succession not only of the Hebrew prophets but of Jesus. He had thus new principles to apply and the situation to which he applied them was also new.

As a strict Pharisee of the better type he sought to attain a perfect conformity with the Law as this had been developed by the Scribes into the traditions of the elders. Our distinction between the ceremonial and the moral law was not recognised; all the commandments of God were binding. It is essential for us to remember this when we are dealing with the Apostle's doctrine of the Law. It is a grave misapprehension of his thesis that for Christians the Law is abolished, if we imagine him to be speaking simply of its ritual directions. Naturally these were included. It is not on these, however, that his thought dwells, but on the moral law, especially as embodied in the Decalogue. And so far as could be observed, Paul was singularly successful in satisfying its exacting standard. He tells us himself, that as touching the Law, he was found blameless. He says "I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers." We must credit him with an exceptionally high standard of moral conduct, quite apart from his punctilious observance of the ritual requirements of the Law. He had a tender and scrupulous conscience; his life was largely absorbed in understanding the statutes of God as the Rabbis had defined them, and observing them with unflinching precision. He was nevertheless acutely aware of a tragic schism in his own inner life. The conflict between the higher and the lower nature, the flesh and the mind, went on unnoticed by the world, which little guessed that beneath the smooth and triumphant surface elemental powers were locked in deadly struggle, and that outward conformity

to the Law was strangely united with the constant experience of moral defeat. The will of the mind or higher nature was set on obedience to the Law of God but the irretrievably evil lower nature, the willing thrall of Sin, again and again vanquished the higher. This inward torment of the divided self, this losing battle of the mind with the flesh, drove him to despair: "O wretched man that I am who shall deliver me from this body of death?" Sin was no doubt for him a perplexing phenomenon to be explained, but primarily it was something to be fought. But what with all his strenuous but ineffective struggle the Law could not do for him, grace triumphantly achieved. Renouncing all trust in his own righteousness and forsaking all efforts to establish it, he cast himself upon Christ in adoring trust, in a transport of wonder, love, and praise. As he looked back on that critical moment so saturated with emotion, so stored with spiritual and moral energy, he was conscious that a fusion of his own spirit with Christ had taken place, so that it was no longer he that lived but Christ that lived within him. The union between himself and Christ was so close, so intimate, that he could say "He that is joined to the Lord is one spirit." It is not of a moral, but of a mystical union that he is thinking. We can define it only in the language of paradox; there is an identity in which distinction survives. Thus whatever Paul had been, belonged in a sense to the past. The decisive thing was his Christian experience. He had a vivid sense of its revolutionary character. In Christ he was a new creature, the old things had passed away, behold they had become new. Since he had become one with Christ he shared His status before God. He had died to the old life, its guilt no longer clung to him, he was "justified in Christ," there was no longer any condemnation for him. And the moral problem of the future was also solved, for in this union with Christ he shared Christ's character, Christ indeed was the real centre of his new personality, and the new life was the instinctive expression of that new personality formed by the fusion of Paul with Christ. Thus Jeremiah's prophecy of the New Covenant was fulfilled. The prophet had made the decisive advance of recognising that the moral ideal was to be attained, not by conformity to a code of external commandments, but by the writing of the Law upon the heart. In other words the moral Law was to become a part of the personality itself, known by immediate intuition, instantaneously available for every situa-

tion and spontaneously obeyed as the instinctive expression of the renewed personality. But the prophecy was more than fulfilled ; for not only was there the new knowledge of God's will and the spontaneous fulfilment, secured by renewal of the heart on which it was written, but there was the mystical union of the redeemed personality with the personality of the Redeemer. Thus the moral life of Paul was rooted in his religious experience and his ethical theory was rooted in his theology. His theology also had its roots largely in his religious experience.

Since Paul was pre-eminently the Apostle of the Gentiles the problem of ethical training was very different in his Churches from the problem which confronted the leaders of Jewish Christian Churches. A far higher standard of conduct could be presupposed in those who had been educated in Judaism than that which obtained in the Pagan world generally. In the Epistle to the Romans Paul gives a lurid picture of the moral conditions to which idolatry led ; and after mentioning several types of sinners he reminds his Corinthian converts that before their conversion some of them had been found in these classes. Many of these converts needed to learn the very rudiments of Christian morality. To avoid contact with pagans addicted to sins of the graver kind, he tells his converts, they would need to go out of the world altogether. Such was the mire from which they had been extricated and in which their friends and neighbours still wallowed. The Apostle tolerated no compromise in these matters. If members of the Church were guilty of such offences he ordered their fellow-members to break off communications with them. But he dealt faithfully with the sins which were less gross in character but not therefore less morally and spiritually ruinous. The works of the flesh were not simply the coarser physical sins, but included idolatry, sorcery, enmity, strife, jealousy, faction, party spirit, envy. And against many of these he testifies again and again. They are nearly all direct sins against love, and it is in love that he finds the all-inclusive principle of morality. He is shocked by the scandal of Christians going to law with each other before heathen tribunals. They should rather suffer wrong and permit themselves to be defrauded. He is horrified at the scenes which occurred at the Lord's Supper in Corinth, when distinctions of wealth or class ruined the fellowship and contradicted the whole meaning of the service. The party-spirit which split the Church

at Corinth into four cliques was not simply a sorry exhibition of radically unchristian temper, it degraded Christ from the sole Lordship of His Church which could be shared by no merely human leader. He strongly condemns manifestations of temper such as anger and railing. He forbids rancour and vindictiveness, urging his converts to practise meekness, patience, forbearance, and forgiveness. Sympathy and compassion, kindness, philanthropy and hospitality are also virtues to be cultivated. Ambition, self-assertion and inflated self-esteem are to be avoided ; they must practise rather the humility which esteems others better than oneself and the unselfishness which will prove a safeguard against invasion of the rights of others. Of the courtesy which he commends to others the Apostle gave not a few examples ; a shining illustration of this quality is afforded by his letter to Philemon. His delicacy of feeling may be seen in his denunciation of the ostentatious greed with which the wealthier coteries feasted on their luxuries, while the poor had nothing, or at the best but coarse and scanty food which they had to eat under the supercilious observation of their wealthier brethren. "Ye put to shame," he says, "them that have nothing." The insufficiently esteemed virtues of sincerity, truthfulness, and honesty were pressed on his readers. At the same time the Apostle knew only too well the distressing possibilities of the candid friend, and insisted that while they dealt truthfully it must be in love. Love is, indeed, the bond in which perfection consists ; it binds all Christians together and so the ideal of Christian perfection is attained. His emphasis on joy as the constant mood of the Christian life is true to the temper of primitive Christianity. When he asked the disciples whether they had received the Holy Ghost since they believed, the question was presumably prompted by his realisation that the enthusiasm and rapture which normally characterised the Christian, whatever his outward circumstances, was missing in them. The radiant happiness which triumphed over persecution, tribulation, pain and death was more triumphantly exhibited by no one than by the Apostle himself.

The question not unnaturally arises how with Paul's principle that in mystic union with Christ the believer shares His death to sin and His resurrection to a new life, these moral exhortations should have been needed at all ; and still more that they should have been so flagrantly transgressed. The Apostle himself was not conscious of any

inconsistency ; indeed he bases his exhortations on the participation of his converts in these redemptive experiences of Christ. Presumably then the exhortations were the practical applications of the absolute principle. Ideally it had been achieved in a moment of conversion, actually it must be realised in a long process.

In this connection it is appropriate to speak of his principle of freedom. Freedom is the Christian vocation. For freedom Christ set us free. Paul asserts his own freedom, nor will he allow that his liberty may be judged by the conscience of another. Against the false teachers who were troubling the Church at Colossae he urges its members not to allow themselves to be censoriously judged with reference to meat or drink, to feast-day, new moon or Sabbath. But this is qualified by the principle of love. "We that are strong," he says, "ought to bear the infirmities of the weak and not to please ourselves." This principle is enforced by the supreme example ; Christ did not please himself though He was Lord of all. And Paul himself acted on the same principle. Though he was free from all, he brought himself under bondage to all that he might gain the more. If the strong used their liberty recklessly and the weak brother is emboldened to act against his conscience, he perishes. And such a sin against the brethren, wounding their conscience when it is weak, is a sin against Christ. To gratify one's appetite and assert one's liberty, one ought not to ruin him for whom Christ died. After all the Kingdom of God is not eating and drinking but righteousness, peace and joy in the Holy Ghost. The characteristic failing of the man with enlightened intellect and robust conscience is to despise the weak and timorous brother obsessed by silly scruples ; the temptation of the weak brother is to pass censorious judgment on the strong ; and both, in doing so, sin against love.

The elevation of Paul's ethical principles will be apparent ; but of their wealth only a meagre impression can be given in my space. I must add that in this as in other respects his treatment is marked especially by its sanity and balance and by its firm grip upon realities. And while his ethic is as uncompromising in its application as it is lofty in its principle, it is not pressed to the merciless extreme. If the flagrant offender at Corinth must be solemnly excommunicated and handed over to Satan, it is that his spirit may be saved at the Second Coming. If the rebel leader, who had so grossly insulted him, has

been repudiated and disciplined by the Church, Paul pleads that he may now be forgiven and not swallowed up in despairing sorrow because he feels that his sin has been irretrievable.

I pass on to speak of Paul's apostolic vocation. He strenuously affirms that his apostleship had no human source and came through no human medium. He was vividly conscious that God had called him without human intervention. And he had the same sense of election from his birth as Jeremiah and the Servant of Yahweh. More specifically this was a call to apostleship among the Gentiles. Though less than the least of all saints, the glorious commission had been given him to preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ. And apparently this consciousness of vocation went back to the time of his conversion. When God, who had set him apart from his birth, revealed His Son in him, it was with the intention that he should preach Him among the Gentiles. His language seems to imply that his course of action lay clear before him and that he took it without hesitation. He suggests that at the outset he maintained a studied aloofness from the Jerusalem Church and the apostles. The point on which he insists appears to be independence of action rather than independence of thought. At a later period he affirms that when his Gospel was in question the senior apostles added nothing to him. They recognised that his position was parallel to that of Peter, Peter being entrusted with the mission to the Jews and Paul with the mission to the Gentiles. Conscious of the part which he had played in persecuting the Church, he speaks of himself as the least of the apostles and not worthy to be called an apostle. Yet with a touch of sarcasm, as he thinks of his overrated colleagues, he claims that he was not a whit behind those superlative apostles. It is only the sober truth when he says "I laboured more abundantly than they all." He claims no merit, for like Jeremiah he feels the inward compulsion of his message. Necessity is laid upon him, "for woe is unto me if I preach not the Gospel." When he is planning his visit to Italy he tells the Roman Church that the range of his mission had been from Jerusalem to Illyricum. He had, however, carefully avoided those districts where others had already preached so that he might not be building on another man's foundation. He looked on his vocation as a stewardship and this involved fidelity to his trust. Whether he loyally performed his task was a matter which God alone could determine ; though

he was conscious of no slackness on his part, he ventured no judgment on himself ; as to the judgment of others he was completely indifferent.

As an apostle he possesses rights which he is entitled to enforce, but which he is prepared to waive. While all things are lawful, not all are expedient. He is under bondage to all, but voluntarily since he is free. He has become all things to all men that he may win some. But he is conscious of authority and he claims obedience. He speaks to the Corinthians of "the authority which the Lord gave me for building up and not casting down." In writing to the Thessalonians he refers to the commandments he has laid upon them in the past and gives them fresh commandments. Writing to the more turbulent Corinthians he desires proof whether they are obedient in all things. He finds evidence of his apostleship in the sufferings and persecutions he is called upon to endure. The apostles are as men doomed to death, a spectacle to angels and to men, ill-fed, scantily clad, homeless wanderers. He bears branded on his body the marks of the Lord Jesus.

We have little direct evidence on his quality as a preacher. Reports are given of sermons delivered in the synagogue at Pisidian Antioch, at Lystra, and at Athens. Their authenticity is disputed in view of the well-known habit of ancient historians to compose speeches, which they attributed to characters in their works. It is very precarious, however, to argue that Luke followed this practice ; but in any case the speeches can only be summaries of much fuller discourses and probably cast a good deal in the author's own language. The tactfulness of the utterances and the way in which the speaker finds common ground between himself and his audiences make a favourable impression of authenticity. His enemies said of him that he was unimpressive in appearance and of no account as a speaker. Preaching seems often to have been a painful experience to him. He refers to his sense of conflict and struggle and his need of courage to face his task. He came to Corinth not with eloquence or wisdom, but only with the message of Christ crucified. He shrank from any display of human wisdom or rhetoric which might put the cross of Christ in the background. For God had chosen the foolish, the weak, the despised, the nonentities ; He had willed through the folly of preaching—means apparently so ill adapted to secure the end—to save them that believe. The missionary vividly remembered his weakness, fear and trepidation.

But he was all the more conscious of the Divine power working mightily through his own feebleness.

In his relations with his converts his affection for them is very evident. The oriental exuberance of expression must not disguise from us the real depth and intensity of his emotion as though we were reading mere conventional hyperbole. They are his hope and joy, his crown of boasting and his glory. When he was with them he was gentle and tender as a nurse ; when he is separated from them it is as though he had been orphaned, he longs to revisit them. He cherishes them in his heart and longs after them all in the tender mercies of Christ. Their steadfastness gives him new life.

As an apostle he is entitled to claim maintenance from his Churches. He has the right, as the other apostles, to forbear working or to be accompanied by a wife and claim maintenance for both. But he has permitted himself none of these advantages. When he was at Thessalonica he accepted support from no one, but worked day and night that he might not be a burden to anyone. He would die rather than that his proud boast of independence should be nullified. Wherein, he challenges the Corinthians, had they been made inferior to the rest of the Churches except that he had been no burden to them ? adding with pungent irony, "Forgive me this wrong." From the warm-hearted Philippians, however, he again and again accepted help, knowing that in their case he would not compromise his cherished independence.

He was independent also in the sense that he did not seek to curry favour with men. If he were a pleaser of men he could not be a slave of Christ. He did not flatter, nor were his utterances dictated by self-seeking. Yet in a higher sense he affirms that he pleased all men in all things, and directs that each should please his neighbour for that which is good to edification.

We know less than we could wish of the way in which the Apostle organised his Churches nor for our purpose is it necessary to linger over this subject. But it is clear from his handling of the problems which emerged in his Churches that he must have been a very skilful organiser and administrator. The regulations which he laid down for the exercise of spiritual gifts display his sanity and balance in a striking way. For Paul was himself exceptionally endowed in this respect. He spoke with tongues more than any of the Corinthians, though that

gift, which was highly esteemed, had run riot in the Church. But he insisted that the edification of the Church must be the supreme concern ; and that the speaker's desire to air his gifts or to enjoy the luxury of self-expression must not outbalance the common good. The gift must accordingly be practised only with the most rigorous limitations. A similar wisdom marks his treatment of the relations between the broad-minded and the over-scrupulous. The problem of the attitude which the Church should assume towards the Roman Empire was one which raised serious practical and theoretical issues. Paul sees it steadily and handles it with great discretion. Several thorny questions were raised about marriage, especially in view of the situation created when one member of the partnership became a Christian while the other remained a pagan. That Paul should have dealt so wisely on the whole with the issues involved is the more remarkable that he seems to have been largely free from those impulses which men seek to satisfy in marriage.

In consequence of his wandering life Paul was compelled to keep in touch with his Churches by correspondence. His letters were for himself only a second best. They were unwelcome substitutes for personal contact with his Churches. That he was contributing to a specifically Christian collection of Scriptures, which would take its place beside the Old Testament and be read and studied for many centuries as scarcely any writings have ever been studied, would never occur to him. Happily for ourselves he wrote letters, some of which remain to us as part of our most precious heritage from antiquity. If I speak of them as great literature I may seem to be oblivious of much which would contradict such an estimate. In particular those arid stretches of argument, the fatiguing dialectic in which he discusses issues that have lost all interest for ourselves, might seem to negative all title to literary excellence. But it would be unfair to make our own preferences and interests a standard by which to judge him. To his original readers the questions which he discussed were of urgent and vital importance, and his handling of these questions would interest them just because it was relevant to their own stage of knowledge and thought. But even to us they would gain in value if we would be more patient ; since it is Paul's method to examine ephemeral issues in the light of eternal principles. And so beneath the unfamiliar and perhaps repellent forms there may be discovered themes of perennial

interest. Moreover we cannot blame Paul for not employing eloquence where eloquence would have been inappropriate.

A Grecian of the highest rank, Professor Wilamowitz-Moellendorf has described Paul as "a classic of Hellenism."¹ And we can rightly claim that much in the Epistles deserves to be ranked as great literature. But this was not because Paul aimed at literary excellence for its own sake. He had no use for empty rhetoric, nor did he study form for form's sake. His letters are so great because they are the unstudied expression of so rich, so many-sided a personality. It was because a noble nature was set on fire by noble thoughts, emotions and aspirations that his sentences glowed with such radiance and throbbed with such power. His thoughts are too swift for his words and the torrential rush of his dictation may sometimes have left his amanuensis panting vainly to overtake him. His syntax may be broken, the thread of his argument snapped, as new thoughts flash into his mind. It may only be with severe effort that we wring all the meaning out of his closely-packed sentences, or unravel his concentrated and apparently tangled arguments. We watch with suspense the nimble but sure-footed logic with which he bounds from point to point of his argument, neglecting, it may be, not a few stepping-stones on the way. That his dialectic was skilful, if at times paradoxical, will be clear to anyone who studies his argument that the Law had not been given to produce righteousness.

He was a formidable controversialist. If his arguments do not always appeal to us they were much more effective for his readers and admirably designed to confute his opponents. The force with which he wields the bludgeon is equalled by the dexterity with which he uses the rapier. Neither weapon is congenial to him, for love is apt to be forgotten when a man is engaged in clubbing his opponent or running him through. His opponents recognised the power of his letters; but they may well have been dazed by the unexpected resourcefulness of his scathing invective, his blistering sarcasm and his devastating irony. The situation was critical, the provocation was extreme; and too gentle controversialists may meditate on the significance of Napoleon's remark that to have used blank cartridges

¹ *Die griechische und lateinische Literatur und Sprache* (1905) in *Die Kultur der Gegenwart*, p. 157. The whole of his brilliant description of Paul's style well deserves to be read.

on a certain famous occasion would have involved a culpable waste of life. But no one knew better than Paul that we should overcome evil with good or practised that principle more consistently.

But it is not on his controversial passages with all their dexterity and their power, their scorn and indignation, or even their tender appeal that our memory dwells when we speak of the great literature he has given us. Great chapters stand out before us like the eighth of Romans or the thirteenth and fifteenth chapters of I Corinthians. But all the Epistles contain passages, some of them not long, of sustained and noble eloquence. Some may think it paradoxical to speak of Paul as a poet, but there was a strain of poetry in him. Call to mind his sombre picture of the whole creation enslaved in the bondage of corruption and groaning and travailing in pain together, eagerly waiting for our redemption in which its own deliverance will be involved. Or think of the lyrical rapture of some of his great passages. He may have been discussing some perplexing problem or dealing with some squalid situation. But suddenly his soul takes flight and he soars away from the mean and the sordid, from the arid and the commonplace, bearing his readers upward in his swift and eager flight to those regions of peace and rapture where his treasure and his heart abide. From the miserable party squabbles of the Corinthian Church he escapes into the larger air reminding them how foolish it is to limit themselves to one party leader, when the world and all things belong to them all, time and eternity, while they belong to Christ and Christ Himself to God. So at the end of that famous discussion of the problem created by the election of Israel and its rejection of the Gospel he bursts into his adoring confession of the depth of the riches of the wisdom and the knowledge of God.

If then we inquire wherein the greatness of Paul consisted and what he achieved there is one general consideration to be emphasised at the outset. He was not simply borne on the current of a movement which would have existed independently of him. To a large extent he created the current and controlled its direction. He cut the channel which the Church was in a great measure to follow. The Church would, no doubt, have continued to exist if Paul had never become a Christian. But without a leader of Paul's penetrating insight, commanding intelligence, moral courage and depth of spiritual experience, it might have taken centuries to do what he did in a single generation.

It was he who detached Christianity from Judaism. It was not only that his amazing energy as a missionary planted Christian Churches over so wide an area ; others co-operated in this work, though he laboured more abundantly than they all. But Paul supplied a reasoned defence of the independence of Christianity. He showed that freedom from the Law and its works and salvation through faith in the work of Christ alone were involved in the very nature of the Gospel. And at the critical moment he stood for freedom and unity against fanatical Judaists and intimidated leaders. To insist that no table-communion was possible between Jewish and Gentile Christians unless the Gentiles would accept Judaism was to turn the Church into a Jewish sect and ruin its prospects of acceptance by the Gentiles on a large scale. Humanly speaking it was Paul who rendered the incomparable service of delivering the new religion from so fatal an entanglement.

Not only did he supply the theoretical vindication of the independence of Christianity and defeat the policy which would have bound the two together ; but more than anyone else he planted the new religion firmly in the Gentile world. He had a keen eye for strategic positions. He selected the important centres of population and from these the Gospel radiated into surrounding districts. In some of these centres, for example Corinth and Ephesus, he made a long stay. He knew the necessity of this if solid work was to be done and a firm basis laid for future development.

He did much to secure the unity of the Church. Not only did he defeat the bigotry which would have relegated those Gentiles who stood without the Jewish covenant to an inferior class, denied inter-communion with the Jewish Christians ; but he laboured strenuously to promote friendly relationships with the mother Church by occasional visits and by collections in his churches for the poor Christians of Jerusalem. He had a lofty conception of the Church. It was the body of Christ, it was His bride and the temple of the Holy Ghost. He gave it an organisation, sought to secure a combination of uniformity with liberty, curbed reckless developments and pruned unwholesome excrescences. He was deeply concerned for unity within the local Churches themselves. He set himself resolutely against cliques, factions and party spirit, since they denied the principle of love and might even threaten the supremacy of Christ.

He also worked out a Christian ethic. On this I have already

spoken. Here I need only emphasise how great was the service rendered by Paul at this point. To have imposed upon the converts from paganism a Jewish ethic would not have been so difficult. But to create an ethic which rested not on legalism but on antinomianism, to preach a Gospel of emancipation and yet effectively to safeguard the claims of morality was no easy task. But Paul successfully achieved it for his Churches, and in doing so has left a legacy of the highest value to later generations.

But his greatness is shown pre-eminently in the fact that he largely created a Christian theology and apologetic and a philosophy of history. Whatever view we take of the construction in itself—and it is often depreciated by those who have not taken the pains to understand it, though not by these alone—we must remember that it was largely pioneering work which could not have been accomplished except by a profound and massive intelligence. He had the first qualification for the interpretation of the new religion in that he had firmly grasped its colossal significance. The Gospel was revolutionary; it was the pivot on which history turned. It transcended and cancelled the most fundamental distinctions, race, social status, even sex—the most radical, the most influential of all distinctions on which depend the whole fabric of society and the perpetuation of the race. It went deeper than all of them. It was a mighty principle of unity. Jew and Gentile, slave and freeman, Greek and barbarian, imperial Roman and oppressed provincial, all became one in Christ. All found in Him their common centre, in love to Him they discovered a force which drew them irresistibly to all their fellow-Christians. Of the theology itself it is the less necessary for me to speak now since I sketched my own construction of it in my lecture on “The Quintessence of Paulinism.”

He has also left us the heritage of his letters. Eduard Schwartz has expressed the view that Paul's main importance consisted in the posthumous influence he exerted on the Church through his Epistles. I should certainly hesitate to endorse this and indeed it is not possible to speak with any confidence on such a question. The influence Paul exerted by the line of action which he took and the work which he did in his lifetime was colossal. It largely determined the policy and the direction the Church was to follow, and but for Paul the difference would have been stupendous. It remains true that the Epistles have exercised an incalculable influence on the doctrine, the ethics, and the

organised life of the Church. If the New Testament is the most important book in the world, it is worth our while to remember that had Paul never become a Christian, our New Testament would have been deprived of his Epistles, of more than half of The Acts of the Apostles, probably of I Peter, possibly of other sections of the New Testament. And some of the books which would remain would probably have been different from what they are.

When we are speaking of Paul's influence we cannot forget that much of it was indirectly the influence of Jesus exerted through Paul. I cannot discuss at this point the problem of the relation in which Paul stood to Jesus. Nothing could have been more distasteful to Paul than to have been put in any kind of rivalry with Jesus. The full tide of affection and adoration, of which a nature singularly rich in both qualities was capable poured forth in full and perennial flood towards his Lord. All of worth that he had, all he could ever be he owed to Him. It is not infrequently said that Paul depraved the simple and beautiful religion of Jesus. He substituted Christological speculation for the Gospel of the Fatherhood of God ; and the plan of salvation for the Master's message of God's free forgiveness. And so with Paul the new religion was in a few years transformed into a mythology. In his hands the message of Jesus became a harder, coarser, and narrower thing. It is recognised, however, by some who find this gulf between Paul and his Master that this account of the responsibility for the difference cannot be sustained, and so the transformation is thought to have taken place before Paul touched the religion. Really it would be necessary to cut deep into the Synoptic Gospels themselves to eliminate from the teaching of Jesus utterances about Himself and His work which in principle go a long way towards the Pauline position. It is of course true that these are only pregnant utterances and that the development of them into systematic doctrine was the work of Paul himself.

We must all recognise that Paul's impact on history has been tremendous. But we may think of it too exclusively in terms of religion and the Church. Really he struck with amazing force into universal history. Christianity has become so large a factor in the secular life of nations, in earlier ages indeed perhaps more than in our own, that the man who beyond all others emancipated the Gospel from Judaism, planted it firmly in the Gentile world and gave a

reasoned theory of it which has served as a basis for the structure of Christian theology, must have affected world-history on a very large scale. In any list of the world's greatest men he must, whether we judge by intrinsic qualities or by depth and range of influence, be placed without hesitation in the foremost rank.

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GERALD OF WALES.¹

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THE career of Gerald of Wales suggests some striking reflections to the student of our early history. He lives, and lives vigorously, only in his own writings, some of which survive only in one manuscript. If these works had been lost, as so much mediæval literature has been lost, we should know almost nothing about him. A troublesome archdeacon, chosen by his fellow-canons as bishop of St. David's, a man whose 'rebel cleverness' caused much trouble at the papal court to a hard-worked Archbishop of Canterbury—that is about all: he would have been one among many troublesome archdeacons, and claimants to bishoprics and persistent suitors at Rome. Scholars, I imagine, would have speculated mildly about the identity of the 'Gerald the archdeacon' who attested here and there an Anglo-Irish charter; they could never have felt the pleasant thrill of recognition, as they note the presence of the vivacious ecclesiastic who wrote the most famous of all the famous books about Ireland.

Of course, there is nothing new, though there is always something strange, in this. If Pepys had never written a diary or if his diary had been lost, he would have been known to us only as a very intelligent and reasonably hard-working official of the Admiralty. If Greville had not written a diary he would not be known at all except as Clerk to the Privy Council; and, as you are aware, some extremely interesting and spicy diaries, published for the first time in recent years, were written by persons so unknown to history that their authenticity has been doubted, just as the authenticity of the Paston Letters was long discussed until their consistency with other historical evidence was established. Yet there is something peculiarly suggestive about the

¹ A lecture delivered in the John Rylands Library, the 11th of January, 1928.

nature of our knowledge of Gerald. Whatever value we attach to his statements, there is no doubt that he was in his way a very important man, a man who could not fail to attract attention and arouse comment. He did not live obscurely ; he was not one of those people whose personality seems only to be revealed in their writings ; he was not, like Hobbes, a retiring and rather timid soul, who could show an unexpected, devastating courage on paper, or, like Sir Isaac Newton, a man whose commonplace life was but the tabernacle of a mind really at home with the infinite. His writings are not like the writings of Dante and Shakespeare, so packed with the experience and strivings of humanity that contact with the daily lives of the writers is lost or becomes a trivial impertinence. Gerald lived in the open. His life was full of public activity, his interests were those of everyday. He was familiar with kings and could banter with popes. He was an autocrat inordinately proud of his lineage, a self-important gossip whom nothing escaped. He was a scholar who could only do lip-service to the charms of retirement, a man with intense curiosity and uncannily observant, ever ready to speculate about the origin of things, the peculiarities of custom or the meaning of words. He loved preaching and lecturing, and he revelled in controversy. He had unbounded courage, preferred to fight with the great, and his self-esteem was never disturbed by the frustrations of what we call self-consciousness. He knew everybody and went everywhere. Yet, if it were not for his writings, we should know next to nothing about him. The significance of a fact such as this should never be forgotten by students of early history, embarrassed though they may be by the wealth of the scattered and scrappy material at their disposal. It reminds us very forcibly that the growth of English law and society, the development of our ecclesiastical and political institutions, were not supervised by mechanical despots ruling over a crowd of dummies, but were the living expressions of living people, far too much interested in what they and others were doing to trouble much about where they were going or to trouble at all about us.

Gerald's writings have been edited by three well-known scholars, Brewer, Dimock, and Warner. They fill eight volumes of the *Rolls Series*. The editorial work is of varying merit, that of Dr. Brewer—to whom we owe much as a pioneer—being especially defective. Brewer's edition of the autobiography and of parts of the *Invectives*

appeared so long ago as 1861. It was a considerable achievement and that his reconstruction of Gerald's life and his annotations of the text contain some errors and misconceptions is neither surprising nor discreditable. A recent edition of the *Invectives*, issued by Mr. W. S. Davies in a volume of *Y Cymmrodor* (1920), has done a good deal to fill the gaps in Brewer's work. It is unlikely that much more can be done with profitable results until the intensive studies, now in full progress, in the literary, social and ecclesiastical history of the twelfth century can be brought to bear upon Gerald's multifarious writings.

A strong autobiographical interest inspired all the best work of Gerald. He could never get away from himself for very long, and he is always most amusing and most helpful when he is writing from his own experience. He is induced, for example, or perhaps commissioned to write the lives of Remigius, the first Norman bishop of Lincoln, and of his great contemporary, St. Hugh of Lincoln; he cannot resist the temptation to add little sketches, full of personal reminiscence, of other contemporary prelates. He writes a letter of encouragement to Archbishop Stephen Langton; but he goes off at a tangent to rail against a Canterbury monk who has attacked one of his books. Hence it is impossible to separate his writings from the incidents of his life.

The books on Wales and Ireland are connected with Gerald's early life. They are the works by which he was best known in his own day and is best known to-day; for they broke new ground and are still alive as historical material. Indeed, the *Topography of Ireland* has been for centuries one of the storm centres in the disputes about the nature and value of early Irish society. One of the most solid productions of the literary activity which accompanied the nationalist movements in Ireland in the seventeenth century was the *Cambrensis Eversus* of the Roman Catholic refugee, John Lynch (1662). If Irish history was to be properly understood, the authority of the Welshman must be overthrown. The controversy has not yet ceased. Now Gerald's work was due to the fact that he was closely related to a Norman family, settled in Pembrokeshire, which took a large share in the conquest of Southern Ireland. He was a Pembrokeshire man, and on his father's side he was a Norman, on his mother's side half a Norman. Hence, although at times Gerald liked to boast of his Welsh ancestry, it is more correct to describe him as Gerald de Barri,

son of William de Barri, or as Gerald of Wales than as Gerald the Welshman. His grandfather Odo was one of the foreign settlers who (in the reign of King Henry I.) occupied the district known as Southern Dyfed. He was succeeded about 1130 by his son William, Gerald's father. The family seat was the castle of Manorbier (Maenor Pŷr or Bŷr), the ruins of which still remain, looking out over the Bristol Channel, a few miles to the south-east of Pembroke. It is a very pleasant place, and in Gerald's eyes it was the most beautiful place in Wales. He wrote in later years of the park and fishpond, and the lovely orchard, and the rivulet of never-failing water which flowed down between the castle and the church. As a boy he had watched the ships being driven by an east wind to Ireland. 'Demetia is the fairest district in Wales, and Pembroke the fairest part of it, and this the fairest spot in Pembroke, it follows that Maenor Pyr is the most pleasant spot in Wales. Let the writer be excused for saying so much in praise of his birthplace.'¹

William, the lord of Manorbier, married the daughter of a local magnate, an important man in himself, and still more important as the ancestor of one of the greatest of the Anglo-Irish families. This was Gerald of Windsor, constable of Pembroke, and through his son, the famous Maurice fitz Gerald, the ancestor of the Geraldines, Earls of Kildare. Gerald of Windsor had married a Welsh princess, and it was through their daughter Angharad, the wife of William de Barri, that Gerald of Wales was able to claim descent from the Kings of South Wales. The princess, Nest or Nesta, daughter of King Rhys ap Tewdwr, had an exciting matrimonial career. She was first the mistress of King Henry I., then wife of Gerald of Windsor, then of the Constable of another royal stronghold, Cardigan. She had children by all three, and nearly all her sons or grandsons were destined to have a share in the booty of Ireland. King Henry's

¹ It is hard to find a translation for *maenor*, which usually means an administrative sub-district. Here it may mean the chieftain's vill. The court-house or *mansio* was generally in the lord's bond-vill in the commote or wider district (Rees, *South Wales and the March*, p. 303). Maenor Pyr is said to be the maenor of the lords, *pŷr* being the plural of the old Welsh word *por*, a lord; but Mr. W. Rees, who has kindly sent me notes on this paper, thinks that there is a good deal to be said for Gerald's derivation 'mansio Pirri' (vi. 92), i.e. that Pyr is a personal name, possibly the equivalent of Porius.

grandson, Meiler fitz Henry, a strong little man with stern black eyes, was one of the first group of invaders, and in King John's reign became justiciar of Ireland. Of the three sons of Nesta and Gerald of Windsor, one was the founder of the Carews and two other Irish families ; one as we have seen, the ancestor of the Geraldines, a third, David, was bishop of the Welsh see of St. David's. They were the maternal uncles of Gerald of Wales. Robert fitz Stephen, the son of Nesta and the Constable of Cardigan, described by Gerald as a burly, healthy, jovial and generous man, too fond of women and wine, and like a second Marius, the sport of Fortune, was the leader of the first invaders and was granted the half of Cork. So we see that Gerald, who was a young man of twenty-three or twenty-four when his kinsmen made their bold expedition (1169), had access to the very heart of the turbulent politics of S. Wales and S. Ireland. In 1183 he accompanied his brother Philip to Ireland. In 1184 he was called to the court of King Henry II. and was sent to Ireland in the following year in the company of the young John, the 'lord of Ireland.' The failure of John's expedition is well known. Gerald, whose sympathies would naturally lie with his kinsmen, the earliest invaders and settlers, ascribed it to the neglect of their advice and position and the presumptuous pressing forward of courtiers and new men who had no experience of the country. It is a cry often heard in the later history of Ireland. Gerald had no desire to settle. He refused the offer of several bishoprics, and stayed only long enough to collect the materials for his works on the conquest and on the topography of Ireland, which it appears were written before he left.

The main preoccupation of his life was found in Wales, and especially in the bishopric of St. Davids, where his home and connexions were. He had made a reputation for himself in Wales long before he became a royal chaplain and accompanied the irresponsible young John to Ireland ; and his interests were ecclesiastical. He tells in his autobiography how as a child he always played at churches while his brothers played at battles and castles ; but these prophetic infantile preferences come in other people's lives, and Gerald saw his childhood through literary spectacles. He wanted to be a churchman and his uncle was the bishop of St. Davids. After some years of study at the cathedral schools in Paris, he was ready for employment. In the year 1175 the new archbishop, Richard, sent him on a disciplin-

ary mission to S. Wales.¹ He was so effective that he was made archdeacon of Brecknock and helped his old uncle the bishop to rule his diocese. Gerald was, as the Irish say, 'a bit of a lad'; he thoroughly enjoyed his work as archdeacon, and was especially proud of an encounter which he had with an old fellow-student of his at Paris, the bishop of St. Asaph. The story is worth telling. Gerald had just returned home from a visitation of his mountainous and wide-spread district when he heard that the bishop proposed to dedicate a church at Kerry, on the border between the dioceses of St. Asaph and St. Davids, but hitherto administered as part of the latter. He rushed off at once, and arrived in the neighbourhood on Saturday night, the eve of the ceremony. He had a number of clergy with him and had sent others for help in various directions. Like a good many Welsh churches in this period the church of St. Michael at Kerry was held jointly by more than one clerk, in this case by two, who had—against their will, they afterwards said—acquiesced in the invasion of episcopal authority from St. Asaph. They hid the keys of the church; but Gerald, arriving on Sunday morning, soon found them. The bells were rung in sign of possession and mass was said. In the meanwhile some of the bishop's clerks arrived (*cum persona ecclesiae*) to see that the church was ready for the dedication. Gerald sent off some of his clerks, together with the rural dean, to learn the bishop's intentions and to offer him an honourable reception if he came in peace. The bishop was firm, and in spite of the dean's protest and appeal to the Pope, insisted on his right to perform the ceremony. Messengers were sent back to Gerald on swift horses, and the archdeacon took up a position to meet the usurper at the entrance to the cemetery. The bishop arrived and a long altercation began. Gerald, whose uncle the bishop of St. Davids had recently died (1176),

¹ The chronology of Gerald's life, as told by himself, is characteristically inaccurate. Thus he says that he was present at the first public celebration of the feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury, celebrated two years after the martyrdom (vii. 69). This would be 29 Dec., 1172. But he also says that the archbishop, Richard, was present. There was no archbishop in Dec. 1172, and the first possible date is Dec. 1174, shortly after the archbishop's return from his consecration in Italy and also shortly after the destruction of the choir of the cathedral by fire. Gerald probably mixed up times, places and persons. On the date of his mission to Wales see Lloyd, *History of Wales*, ii. p. 556 note.

reminded his old friend and fellow-student that the diocese was now in the custody of the king : the whole strength of the church and king in England was at his back. The bishop read out the letters received from the archbishop on his appointment to the see of St. Asaph, confirming him in *his* rights. The church of Kerry, he added, and all the churches between Wye and Severn in central Wales were within his jurisdiction. Literary evidence was also produced. Gerald retorted that anybody could write anything in a book. Where were the charters ? Threats of excommunication were exchanged. The bishop said that an archdeacon could not excommunicate a bishop. Neither can a bishop, Gerald retorted, excommunicate an archdeacon who is not in his diocese.

“Hearing this, the bishop drew back a little, and on a sudden slipped from his horse and clapped on his mitre. Then mitre on head and staff in hand he advanced with his following, so that his sentence might be of greater effect. But the archdeacon knew the headstrong nature of the man. He had taken advantage of his garrulity to make his preparations and now ordered the clergy forward from the church. They wore white stoles and other ecclesiastical vestments and came in procession, with lighted candles and the cross borne in front of them.”

The bishop was taken aback, but announced that at least he would proceed to a general excommunication of all who resisted the rights of St. Asaph. Gerald pointed to the hills : ‘Excommunicate on these mountains from dawn to dusk if you will—it will not hurt me,’ but forbear, he added, lest you alarm and perplex the folk who have gathered about us. The bishop in a loud voice began to excommunicate ; the archdeacon in a louder voice did the same. Then his eyes caught sight of the bells hanging behind him. He ordered a peal with triple interval to be rung in confirmation of his sentence. The bishop’s assurance was broken—he rode away in confusion, and the people who had gathered raised a great shout against him and his companions, and pursued them with volleys of clods and missiles of wood and stone.

The whole of Gerald is in this story, told with his natural vigour and naïvete. The bishop was no less a person than Adam of Bangor, Adam of the Petit Pont, who had won fame as a teacher in his school on the bridge over the Seine at Paris. Gerald, a younger and less

learned man, characteristically refers to him as a fellow-student, and casts ridicule on his verbosity, his rashness, his humiliation. At no time was this son of Welsh kings and Norman barons a respecter of persons. We see his eye for detail, even in the absorption of a dispute on a solemn occasion : he suggests all the organisation of the Church : pope, bishop, archdeacon, rural dean, parson, incumbents, clerks ; he glances into the background of English power, vested in king and archbishop. He knows the effect of every detail in ritual, so that we see the lighted candles and hear the bells. He is in his wild Wales and his imagination turns instinctively to the neighbouring hills. Above all, he is after his rights, not so much his own as those of the office entrusted to him. Everything else is subsidiary to this. He is priest and scholar, but first and foremost he is the archdeacon, sure of his case, thorough, set on victory, disinterested yet fully aware of the fine impression which he, Gerald de Barri, is making. The story reached the ear of the king and caused much amusement at court, to Gerald's intense gratification. Disputes of this kind, grave or trivial, were occurring all over Europe. The record of them fills pages of papal registers and chronicles, and are in general very wearisome. The settlement of them helped to formulate the canon law or to define the relations between lay and clerical authority. Only now and then is the story given life. But Gerald lived every day an existence of dramatic egotism : and he wrote this and many more stories down, sometimes twenty years later, with the same zest as he had felt on the actual occasion. His memory was often at fault, but it never lacked colour.

In 1176, when his uncle died and these things happened, he was about thirty years of age, at the beginning of what seemed a brilliant career. In a later work he says that he was a very handsome young man. Once he visited two learned prelates and found them sitting together. One of them looked at Gerald and exclaimed 'Can such beauty die?' (iv. 104). Yet throughout his long life he never got further. He refused bishoprics in Wales and Ireland, and at his death was still an archdeacon in his native diocese of St. David's. It was in part his own fault, for he never made upon others the kind of impression which he made upon himself ; but in part it was to his honour, for he was too big a man to have a merely vulgar ambition. You will have noticed that, at Kerry, he took the authority of king

and archbishop in Wales for granted. He was at this time in the Anglo-Norman tradition. Archbishop Richard of Canterbury had sent him back to South Wales. But a new issue arose—a perplexing controversy which was to shape his later life, so that it obsessed his mind. This issue was the claim of the church of St. David's to archiepiscopal status, independent of the primacy of Canterbury. It had been raised in Henry I.'s reign, and on the death of bishop David, was revived in 1176. How Gerald regarded it at this time is uncertain. He was put forward precipitately by the canons as their chief candidate for the bishopric, and says that the archbishop wanted him; but the king refused, and the canons were told to elect a Cluniac, the prior of Wenlock in Shropshire. The election illustrates the attitude of Gerald at this time to the custom of England as described in the Constitutions of Clarendon, but his attitude to the problem of St. David's claims is not clear. He refused to be regarded as bishop-elect until the king's licence to elect had been given, and he acquiesced in his defeat with a good grace. If his later memory was sound, he was more concerned by the deplorable practice of electing a bishop in the king's private chamber than by any national feeling. St. Thomas had fought against this practice, but in vain. Gerald wanted to see things done in order: first, the king's licence, then a free election in the chapter. First by haste, in not waiting for the licence, then by fear, in choosing the royal nominee in the king's bedroom, the canon of St. David's had muddled matters. Yet the issue of St. David's status had been raised and was not forgotten, and it is quite probable that King Henry, in spite of his liking for Gerald and his pro-Welsh policy at this time, rejected him because he saw in him a possible danger as a protagonist of the local ambition. It was not only a racial ambition. It was indeed mainly ecclesiastical, based on a misunderstanding of documents and on memories of the independence of the old Celtic Church. A Norman ecclesiastic could share it as well as canons of Welsh blood; and Gerald, though I do not think that at this time he felt very strongly in the matter, was the sort of man to further it. At all events, the rebuff chafed him, and gradually he came to regard himself as a champion not only of canonical order but also of Welsh rights in the church. The crisis came more than twenty years later. In 1177 Gerald went back to Paris; between 1180 and 1184 he was for some time engaged on work in the diocese of St.

David's as the bishop's commissary ; between 1189 and 1194 he was attached to the royal service and, in addition to his visit to Ireland in 1185-86, was constantly engaged during the troubled years after Henry II.'s death in delicate missions to the Welsh princes. He then withdrew from court to study at Lincoln under a famous scholar, William of Leicester, then chancellor of Lincoln in the charge of the theological schools. In 1199 he was again put forward by the canons of St. David's, and in the long dispute which followed at the papal court his claim to the bishopric was inextricably connected with his assertion of the rights of the see to archiepiscopal dignity.

Nearly a quarter of a century (1176-1199) had passed since Gerald had first been suggested as bishop. During the long interval Gerald's outlook on life had changed, I think, very considerably, and, quite apart from this—a matter of somewhat slight psychological interest—these were the most varied and interesting years in his life. His powers were developed and under control, and his best work belongs to this period. In his writings and later reminiscences we get a vivid picture of a busy-minded cleric, moving in the highest circles, political, ecclesiastical, literary, and ever at the heart of affairs.

Welsh problems engaged most of his attention. We may pass over his vain attempts to establish peace in the diocese of St. David's under the weak and querulous rule of its Cluniac bishop. The great event of the time was the fall of Jerusalem and the wave of indignant enthusiasm which led to the third crusade—the epic contest of Saladin and Richard of the Lion Heart. In 1188 Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, a Cistercian and a friend of Gerald's, planned a preaching tour in Wales on behalf of the crusade and took Gerald with him. Just as the visits to Ireland prompted his books on that country, so this tour hastened, if it did not prompt, his famous 'Itinerary' and his Description of Wales. He had apparently planned his Description some time before, for referring to its temporary loss during a journey from Normandy to England a year or so later he describes it as the labour of many years and as yet existing in only one manuscript. It was actually finished and circulated when he was in Lincoln (c. 1195). The Itinerary is his account of the preaching tour, of which he speaks also in his reminiscences. The archbishop's oratory was not effectual, but his own, he says, had a wonderful result. He did not speak Welsh—a point worth noting—and preached to the Welsh in French

and Latin. Yet, just as St. Bernard, during his great Rhenish tour before the second crusade, had collected a host of German crusaders by his Latin sermons, so Gerald's threatened to depopulate Wales, so great was the enthusiasm which they aroused for emigration to the East. One would like to know the facts behind this remarkable testimony. Gerald reports a conversation which he had later with John, to whom his father King Henry had given temporary control of the Earldom of Pembroke before the succession of the young heiress. John, we are told, reproached Gerald, not for convincing Welshmen, but for depopulating Pembrokeshire of Normans, and grumbled that the archdeacon was plotting the return of the district to native rule. John had a strong sense of humour and, I suspect, was pulling Gerald's leg. But Gerald took the accusation seriously and repudiated it. Here, at any rate, is a man of Welsh extraction, but not of Welsh race, who does not know Welsh, and is at the same time supposed to be infected by Welsh national sympathies. This sums up the position in 1188. Gerald at this time had obviously lost practical interest in the question of ecclesiastical independence, for he traversed Wales in the company of the Archbishop of Canterbury and raised no objection to Baldwin's insistence on the recognition of his supremacy by the Welsh chapters. During King Richard's absence in the East, he accepted commissions from John, from the queen mother and the temporary justiciar, Walter, Archbishop of Rouen, in furtherance of English policy in Wales. The power of the great king of South Wales, Rhys ap Gruffydd—Gerald's distant kinsman—was advancing during these years; the influence of the English government and of the Welsh Marcher lords steadily waned; but Gerald was in the service of the English. On the other hand he felt all the time, if his later testimony can be accepted, that he was kept back from the preferment due to him by his Welsh connections. King Henry and the later government in England would not do anything to help a kinsman of the great Rhys, however worthy and loyal he was. It is hard to see where the truth lay. For Gerald himself tells us that he was offered two Welsh bishoprics, Bangor and Llandaff. Does this mean that he would only take St. David's or does it not mean that at this time his main preoccupations and ambitions were not Welsh at all, that he did not wish to be put away in a corner? And later, when hope of real eminence had gone, did his

thoughts turn to St. David's again, and all his latent patriotism awake at the thought that he might rule his native land as an archbishop ?

Gerald, you must remember, was not a saint and was too much concerned with the interests of every day to be an idealist or a dreamer. It would be foolish to look for consistency in such a man, and even in Wales at this time patriotism was not a burning consistent flame, least of all in the perplexing south, with its mixture of races, its family feuds, and political incoherence. When Gerald boasted of being a Welshman, or complained that his Welsh ancestry barred his way to preferment, he meant that his dignified Norman-Welsh origin put him above the ordinary man, and quite apart from the Englishman, whom he despised. And he also meant that he was regarded as peculiar and, perhaps, dangerous. Such a man, in a strange court with his way to make, is almost forced into opportunism, and the wonder is that Gerald was as consistent as he was. He responded very easily to his surroundings, yet he was always himself. He threw himself wholly into the duty or interest of the moment, yet he was always the detached critic of everything and everybody but himself. He had the detachment of the aristocrat and also of the *littérateur*, and this quality, and also his freedom of speech, his incisive tongue and vanity, while they doubtless prevented advancement, always made him a centre of interest. He got his full share of attention, and while men laughed at him or played up to him, they could not fail to respect him or afford to disregard him. In short, he was a conspicuous person, though not so important as he imagined himself to be.

During these years he moved freely among the great. Some of the most interesting of his recollections are the records of conversations with the famous justiciar, Ranulf Glanville, who chatted to him about politics. One memorable talk was on the causes of the growing weakness in the Angevin empire, of the steady development of French power. Gerald was increasingly impressed by the French ; and in later life his sympathies were with the King of France rather than with the King of England. He was intimate, so far as was possible, with Henry II. and his sons, but he was never captivated or overwhelmed by them ; his heroes were Philip Augustus of France and his son Louis. This change of mind began during the last years of Henry, when Gerald was in touch with all parties during the dreadful quarrels between the old king and his sons, and his story is to be found

in the late treatise on the education of a prince, in reality a desultory history of the West, based largely upon Hugh of Fleury, and passing into recollections of his own time. The book is an important authority for the history of Henry II., but its interest to the biographer of Gerald lies in its attitude to the French king. He was in Paris, a young student of 20, when the future Philip Augustus was born and recalls how he went out into the streets and saw excited women rushing about with torches and prophesying a great future for the child. He had been told how, in his early days as king, when he was 15 or 16 years of age, Philip was one day seen to be lost in thought, idly twisting a stick with his fingers. One of the barons said he would give a good horse to know what the king was thinking about ; another dared to ask him, and learned that Philip was wondering whether God would ever restore the kingdom to the greatness it had in the days of Charlemagne. The treatise, if dedicated at all, would, says Gerald in his preface, be dedicated to the young Louis, Philip's son. The preface must, I think, have been written while Louis was in England, seeking to conquer the realm in alliance with the rebellious barons (1216-17). And there is some evidence which suggests that Gerald was possibly in London while it was occupied by the French prince. Certainly in his eyes the Angevin kings deserved all their trouble and suffering.

King Henry II. especially paid the penalty of his sins, his scandalous life and his refusal to abide by the lesson taught by the death of St. Thomas of Canterbury. Gerald's interest in St. Thomas may best be described as that of an ecclesiastical man of the world, by which term I mean something different from a worldly ecclesiastic. He is the well-informed churchman, acquainted with the canon law and versed in ecclesiastical administration, who thought that Thomas was in the right and had behaved admirably. He had upheld the claim of the sacerdotium against *insular* tyranny (viii. 71-2). Gerald shows very little passion, takes the unity of the Church for granted, and is mainly concerned to point out what fools the other people were and how badly Thomas's successors let the cause down. He quotes with some appreciation the remark of Richard of Ilchester, Bishop of Winchester (1174-88), one of the most distinguished administrators of his day, who had as a royal minister been opposed to St. Thomas. 'We were much deceived in that man. He was very different inside from his external appearance of display.' Some one observed 'It is very

remarkable that the church has not been able to secure a single one of the principles for which the martyr fell.' The bishop, more practised in affairs than in letters, replied, 'So far as he was able, the martyr secured everything. If his successor had had a tenth part of his goodness and honesty, the church would not have lost one of those principles.' Gerald was not an indiscriminate champion of these principles. He was a man of his day, and did his work under the conditions which he found, but in general Gerald was on the side of St. Thomas. Every ecclesiastic engaged in a conflict for rights could now feel that he had a great example; and we can see from the allusions to the martyr, scattered about Gerald's writings, how spontaneous and universal the interest in him was. When Gerald came back from Paris in 1180 he passed through Canterbury and visited the shrine. He tells how he and his companions came into an ecclesiastical council at Southwark '*cum signaculis B. Thome a collo suspensis*,' a reference to the thin, flat, purse-like little bottles of lead or pewter, in which pilgrims to the shrine carried away a tiny drop of the martyr's blood mixed with water (i. 55). Thirty years later on one of his journeys to Rome he heard an old friend of St. Thomas, John, Archbishop of Lyons, tell at Clairvaux of King Henry's indignant remark when Thomas insisted on giving up the chancellorship—'If an Archbishop of Mainz or Cologne can be the emperor's chancellor, why should an Archbishop of Canterbury refuse to be chancellor to the King of England?' ('*De Invect.*,' ed. Davies 97). Elsewhere he draws a pleasant picture of Thomas in exile at Pontigny, how when tired of study he would wander about from one of his companions to another, asking what they were reading. He gave currency—too maliciously, I think—to the story that one of the murderers had asserted the king's full connivance: Henry had not uttered wild unreflecting words, he had deliberately ordered the deed. He shows us the archbishop looking out of a window into the night, the eve of his martyrdom, and asking whether he could reach the coast by daybreak, and then deciding to see his ordeal through, and he tells how, when the murderers came after their crime to the archbishop's house at Malling, and leaving their cloaks and weapons on the heavy dining-table, sat round the fire, the great table suddenly heaved and cast its unholy burden on the floor.

I come to Gerald of Wales as a man of letters. Apart from

some Latin poems, his first works were the books on Ireland, the fruits of his visits (1183-86). Everyone has heard the story, told by himself, of his triumph at Oxford—how, on his return from Ireland, he came to Oxford, gathered the learned clerks and others together, feasted them and read his Topography to them. It was a curious exhibition: a mixture of Celtic practice and literary sophistication. The Topography certainly had a good reception. Archbishop Baldwin was so struck by it that he wanted Gerald not only to preach the Crusade but also to go on the crusade as its historiographer. The books on Wales followed. The 'Descriptio Kambriae,' so nearly lost, and the outcome of much labour, was finished at Lincoln, after Gerald's withdrawal from court. It is a more sympathetic and better informed book, as one would expect, than the Topography of Ireland. As I said at the beginning of the lecture, these works have given Gerald his place in history. They were his special contribution to the encyclopædia of information which the wonderful twelfth century produced—that mass of learning which included the scientific work and travels of Adelard of Bath, the geography of the Arabic scholar Edrisi, the translation of the Koran, the theological method of Abelard and Peter the Lombard, the extensive translations from Greek and Arabic, of Aristotle and the Greek scientists. Gerald was for the most part profoundly ignorant of the contents of the new learning. He was anything but methodical as a thinker, he had heard vaguely that a number of books ascribed to Aristotle had been discovered at Toledo, and he welcomed the ecclesiastical ban imposed upon them in 1210. He was apparently unaware of the development in mathematical science; but he was very sensitive to prevalent fashions of thought, and he had doubtless caught something of the spirit of the new age. I do not know if he had read much of contemporary English history, such as the important investigations of William of Malmesbury, but he was interested in the growth of Arthurian lore, and in one of his books tells the story of the discovery of King Arthur's body at Glastonbury. A faculty for gossipy vivacious description of peoples and customs, an uncritical historical sense, an interest in philological speculations of quite an arbitrary kind—these were his qualities as a historian and they found their best expression in his books on Wales and Ireland.

But Gerald during the years before his retirement to Lincoln had

lived in a wider world than Wales or Ireland. Scattered throughout his writings—and he never hesitated to repeat himself and to copy passages from earlier works—are numerous anecdotes and recollections of the days when he moved among statesmen and in high ecclesiastical circles. He was also a scholar and, absentee though he was, responsible for the administration of an archdeaconry. It was impossible for any writer who had studied in the schools of Paris, to consider a problem of politics or church discipline uninfluenced by what he had heard there, and Gerald in particular was the last man to forget his Paris days. He had attended the lectures of the great Peter Comestor and frequently cites him. He had heard Peter the Chanter, or at least knew something of his writing, and Maurice the bishop and many more. He liked to consider himself as one of the scholars of the day and he ‘fancied himself’ as a lecturer no less than as a preacher. Naturally his administrative and practical interests drew him to the study of law, and in addition to the Scriptures and the more accessible fathers, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and so on, the great textbooks of canon law—Burchard, Gratian and compilations of papal decretals were obviously familiar to him. One of the most delightful specimens of his naïve self-glorification is the account of his lectures on canon law during his second period of study in Paris (1177-80). When he began to lecture on the decretals, the crowd of doctors and students were so great that the largest school could scarce contain it. He treated his scientific theme with such beauty and colour of diction, such apt quotations, that the more learned his hearers were, the better they were pleased. Such sweetness and grace of speech drove away tedium, and the students rivalled each other in the eagerness with which they took down all he said, word for word. One highborn and intelligent canon of Paris asked Gerald privately how long he had studied civil and canon law at Bologna, and when Gerald informed him that he had never been at Bologna, inquired where he had studied. Gerald replied that he had studied at Paris only for three years, and the canon departed in amazement. After breakfast Gerald visited his own master and had the gratification of hearing him say, ‘Your splendid utterance to-day before that great audience pleased me more than a hundred shilling brief.’ And Gerald adds, ‘As Jerome says, the success of his pupils is a teacher’s glory.’

With however much salt we season this narrative, there is no doubt that Gerald's legal studies were of much service to him, both in his writings on the church and in his suit at Rome. One of these books—in some ways the best he ever wrote—was written at Lincoln : the 'Gemma Ecclesiastica.' Of this jewel Gerald says that he took it to Rome with him and presented it with other writings of his to the great pope Innocent III. The pope kept the books by his bedside for a month, until he was persuaded to allow the cardinals to take them away to read—all except the Jewel—with that he would not part. It is worth noting, perhaps, that the only existing copy of the book is a finely executed manuscript which seems to have suffered from seawater. One would like to think that it is Innocent's copy. The book apparently was not circulated ; but it was written primarily for the clergy of Gerald's Welsh archdeaconry, and for this reason, he says, its style is simple and unadorned. He had put together useful information—by way of precept and example—from many authors, as a guide to the clergy in the discharge of their duties. He has dealt with the problems which he used to discuss with them when he was living among them. A more lively work on pastoral theology can never have been written. It deals mainly with two matters—the eucharist and the morality of the clergy. The treatment is practical rather than doctrinal, the problems those difficulties of every day which a clergyman has to face and are none the less difficulties because many of them are trivial. The book is professional, not popular, and we can realise from it how the principles of the canon law and the doctrines of the church fared in the test of experience in the twelfth century. We should remember that in those days many things which seem to us, as we look back through the centuries, to have been fundamental in the life of the church were still new or awaiting more precise definition. Men were discussing them very much as they discuss to-day the issues raised by 'modernism' or by the proposed revision of the Prayer Book ; they were discussed in the schools, and were finding somewhat puzzled or unwilling acceptance in the parishes. Gerald deals with the celibacy of the clergy, for example, with what at first sight strikes the reader as astonishing freedom. He says that he remembered a remark made by the great Paris teacher, Peter Comestor, to the effect that the greatest mistake ever made by the Church was its decision to impose clerical celibacy,

and Gerald is clearly disposed to agree with his old master. Sometimes I wonder whether this freedom of speech may not have prevented the circulation of the book even in the limited circle for whom it was intended. Innocent III., when he refused to part with it, may possibly have deemed it unsuitable reading even for cardinals. Another feature of the book is common to all Gerald's writings—he can never resist a good story. One feels, indeed, that he would make a point in order to bring in a story rather than use a story to illustrate his point. It was rather unwise of him, an archdeacon, to go out of his way to attack the bishop's officials (the official, I should say, was the chief administrative and judicial officer in a diocese), but he had to tell the story of the clerk who was driven to blasphemy by losing all his money at dice. The clerk begged to know how best he could show his feeling about the Almighty by doing what was most abominable in His sight; and a friend advised him to become a bishop's official.

There are many stories, however, in the Jewel which illustrate in a very touching and wistful way the struggle between the pagan and the holy, or between reason and faith in a man. One of them is about an Englishman whom Gerald had seen in his Paris days, a master Richard (Albericanus) who had lectured with great success upon the eucharist, and by his self-discipline and austerities and alms-giving had striven in all ways to live a holy life; but on his death-bed he turned his face away from the body of Christ, because he had never been able to believe in his heart and had incurred the judgment of God. I cannot forbear to give another story, for it can never be told too often. A priest in the diocese of Worcester had been kept awake at night by the villagers singing and dancing about his house and in the churchyard. We can imagine the scene: a merry-making on a saint's day, the sound of voices in chorus through a summer night, perhaps the flicker of torchlight and shadows on the good man's wall. He rose in the morning to say mass, but when he began the salutation, *Dominus vobiscum*, he found himself, to his confusion, reciting in a loud voice the refrain of the love song which still rang in his ears—'Swete lamman dhin are'—sweet mistress, thine aid (ii. 120).

I must say very little about the third period of Gerald's life, covered by the reign of John and the early years of Henry III.'s minority. Gerald was about 54 years of age when he was elected a

second time the bishop of St. David's, and a second time he was disappointed. He had accepted the offer of the canons with hesitation, but he would not give in again. Times had changed since 1176. Not only was Gerald no longer bound to the court, the spirit of the church was different, more assured, and a great man was on the papal throne. The adversary was not the new king, for John had been willing to accept him, but the redoubtable Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury, and for this very reason the issue was badly chosen, for Gerald was not able to say that he was fighting against secular interference. He could only maintain the right of the canons of St. David's to choose whom they willed by denying the archiepiscopal authority in Wales: and as events showed he had no chance of winning papal support for this position. However, he was determined. He disliked Hubert Walter, and in his advancing years his thoughts settled again upon his home and family. He went over to Ireland to discuss the position with his numerous relatives there and then set off for Rome. The story of the appeal, which lasted four years, and involved three distinct journeys to the papal court—so that the vigorous old fellow crossed the Alps six times—is told with a wealth of discourse in the last book of his Autobiography and the six parts of the book incorrectly entitled the '*De Invectionibus*.' Documents were discovered in the archives of St. David's, and by Gerald himself (to his immense pride) in the papal registers at Rome. Pope Innocent was obviously attracted by the archdeacon. He liked his courage and vivacity, and the ingenuity with which he met the archbishop's arguments and faced his proctors. He wrote about him to the archbishop in a friendly way and begged that everything possible should be done to respect his feelings. But he could not give his countenance to the historical claim of St. David's to be the mother church of an independent province. A settlement was ultimately reached. Gerald of course did not become bishop and was formally reconciled to Hubert Walter. In his '*Retractations*,' written after the manner of St. Augustine's, he withdrew his more outrageous charges against him. On the other hand the bishops of St. David's were not to be required in future to make a definite oath of obedience to their metropolitan.

Gerald lost nothing by his defeat. His English preferments and revenues were probably increased, and the king was friendly. He

was able to maintain and add to his self-esteem. He had fought a good fight, and laid the foundations for success, he hoped, to be won by others in the future. Yet I fancy that he never recovered from the effects of these years. He could not forgive the canons of St. David's who had deserted and betrayed him ; and St. David's meant a great deal to him. He lived for another fifteen or sixteen years, but gradually we lose sight of him. His later books—the '*Speculum Ecclesiae*' and the '*De principis eruditione*,' though very amusing and interesting, are not his best. They are informed by prejudice and violence unusual even in him. The one is mainly a diatribe against the monastic orders, the Cluniac especially and later the Cistercian. Gerald had suffered from monks, for all his successful rivals at St. David's were monks, and he was always opposed to monastic chapters in cathedrals and to the promotion of monks to bishoprics ; but his unbalanced diatribe seems to be due to more than this. He had been the close friend of Cistercians in the past, and had written the life of that great monk, Carthusian it is true, St. Hugh of Lincoln. The other book shows that he had broken away from his old moorings in England, and yet he had nowhere else to go. Hence I will say no more on these works, but call attention to a feature of his controversy with Hubert Walter.

The archbishop had begun his defence against Gerald by sending a rather unwise personal attack upon him to Rome. The pope invited him to reply, and the reply—the real '*libellus invectionis*'—is given in the first part of his book about the case. Hubert and his agents had ventured to reflect upon Gerald's Latinity. They could not have done worse, though they rightly guessed, no doubt, that they could not annoy him more. Gerald had very definite views about Latinity. Like his contemporaries John of Salisbury and Peter of Blois, he wrote with bitter sarcasm about the young men of his day, who rushed on to engage in fashionable speculations and disputes before they had learned their grammar. And he also believed very strongly in the value of a literate clergy and a learned episcopate. He particularly objected to the practice, so common in England, of electing as bishops clerks who had got their experience in the exchequer and the royal service. This reprehensible practice was one of the reasons why chapters should be allowed to elect canonically without interference. And here was an archbishop, who had no learning, and had spent

his life among financial agents, daring to sneer at his, Gerald's, Latin, the Latin of a gentleman and a scholar. Gerald went back to one of his own books, the *Gemma*, for his retort and improved upon it. In the *Gemma* he had given many examples of the bad Latinity, the grammatical blunders and the appalling ignorance of the clergy. There was the priest who said that St. Barnabas was a good and holy man, though he was a robber, and quoted in support of this last statement, 'Now Barrabas was a robber'; and the priest who explained the meaning of the feast of St. John before the Latin Gate (ante portam Latinam) by the assertion that 'this St. John was the first man who brought the Latin tongue into England.' And there was even an archbishop who made incredible howlers. Now this archbishop was Archbishop Hubert Walter, and in his address to the pope during the suit at Rome, Gerald did not hesitate to say so. 'Oh if you could only hear the beast bellowing out his words. You would hear tropes and figures which even Donatus in his *Barbarismus* and Priscian himself do not mention. He is especially good at putting the accusative for the nominative; and how often he mixes up his numbers and genders.' Gerald proceeds to give examples, the third and last of which is as follows: 'On one occasion Richard, King of the English, used the Latin phrase "*Volumus quod istud fiat coram nobis*," and the archbishop, who was standing by him with many other important people, wishing to correct the king, said, '*Coram nos, coram nos*, my lord!' The king looked towards that learned and witty man, Hugh, Bishop of Coventry, who said, "*Stick to your own grammar, my lord, it is better*," and so convulsed the assembly.'

Gerald, I said, is known to us only by his writings—and these show us that he is well worth knowing. It is equally true that we can only appreciate his writings to the full if we know something of the times in which he wrote, for he is by no means a reliable guide, and he never troubled to speak of things in which he was not interested or concerned. We should never know from him that the reign of Henry II. is one of the most splendid periods in English history. And how gladly would one have had in addition to his description of Wales, a description of Paris, with its schools and teachers, of Henry's court, of the living instead of the dead Rome, of Lincoln and St. Hugh's new cathedral. Mediæval writers, and especially writers like Gerald, did not consider that the life about them would pass away.

They lived in the present. And few of them lived so intensely as Gerald of Wales. He had, I suppose, an ineffectual, in some ways a disappointing life. He was often very irritable and touchy and unfair. But he was essentially a happy man, attractive to us by his faults even more than by his merits. He enjoyed as much as he could in life, and if he could not enjoy some of it, he took his revenge later and enjoyed writing about it.

WOODBROOKE STUDIES.

CHRISTIAN DOCUMENTS IN SYRIAC, ARABIC, AND GARSHŪNĪ
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH A CRITICAL APPARATUS.

BY A. MINGANA.

WITH INTRODUCTIONS.

BY RENDEL HARRIS.

FASC. 4.

The Lament of the Virgin and the Martyrdom of Pilate.

INTRODUCTION.

IN the present issue of the Woodbrooke Studies Dr. Mingana publishes two documents, which are associated together by the fact of a common Egyptian origin, and by their occurring side by side in the popular religious literature which was preserved in the Arabic language, as spoken by unlettered people, and recorded in the Syriac character, which combination of speech and script we call by the name of Garshūnī. Of the popularity of this kind of story-telling and writing there can be no doubt; the particular documents to which we refer from the Paris Library and the Mingana collection, though they bear internal evidence of Egyptian origin, have come from a much wider field; they were found in Mesopotamia as well as on the Nile; and although they are not of any great antiquity, as far as the actual copies go from which we take our texts, the argument for their wide popular diffusion is made stronger by the observation that they are comparatively modern products of the Oriental religious mind. They must have moved fast, when they are found to have moved so far. Nor does their modern dress preclude the supposition that they may contain fragments of early tradition embedded in their pages, for it is precisely in such popular stories, the Folk-Lore of the Christian religion, that we are accustomed to find survivals of the most primitive beliefs and opinions.

The two documents before us are concerned, the one with the spiritual history of Pontius Pilate, who is made over into an accepted and glorified saint, accepted in the Church on the earth and glorified in the Church in the heaven ; the other with the sorrows of the Virgin, not this time at the cross, but rather at the empty tomb, where she has, as we shall see, exchanged personality with the Magdalene. We may call one of the documents by the title of *Pilatus beatus* ; the other, by an adaptation of the conventional form, may pass as *Stabat Magdalena*. The author of the *Pilatus* is said to be no less a person than the great Gamaliel ; the second is a sermon in which an earlier tale is retold, as the former was also adopted, not without much eloquence, by the Coptic Bishop of Behnesa, a place more familiar to modern scholars under its Greek name of Oxyrhyncus, and from the discovery of papyri associated therewith.

In the second volume of the *Patrologia Orientalis* there appeared a collection of Coptic Apocrypha under the editorship of E. Revillout, amongst which stood a number of Coptic fragments, of which Gamaliel was supposed to be the author, and whose contents were similar to those of the present document. In the same collection there was a fragment describing the appearance of Jesus to Mary at the sepulchre, where there is the confusion between Mary the Virgin and Mary Magdalene to which we have referred above. Clearly, then, the present documents are not entirely novel ; they existed, in part, in Coptic fragments of a similar type with which they must be carefully compared, and in so far as the connection can be made out, it is with the *Coptic Church* and its literature that we are brought into contact.

Not altogether novel, nor altogether unexpected. For, if we turn to the *Apocryphal New Testament* of M. R. James, we shall find that, after making a summary of the Revillout fragments, he adds in conclusion (p. 152) the following sagacious and almost prophetic passage :—

“It may be as well to register here the statement or warning that the Copts were tireless in producing embroideries upon the Biblical stories, and perhaps in rewriting older documents to suit their own taste. Only fresh discoveries of older texts can enable us to decide how much, if any, of the details which these later fragments supply, is really archaic.”

If we add to the words 'discoveries of older texts' the expansion 'and more complete texts,' we shall have almost a summary of the documents before us. They are fresh discoveries of Coptic embroideries upon Biblical texts. We will compare presently the Revillout and other fragments (or as, following Dr. James we may say, 'frills' of Biblical tapestry) with the texts of our documents, but first we must deal with the general question of the canonisation of St. Pilate and his appearance in the Calendar.

Everyone who studies ancient liturgies to which calendars are properly prefixed or attached, is aware of the importance that belongs to the calendar in determining the local provenience of a document. If we find a Psalter, Book of Hours or Missal, the first thing we do is to examine the calendar; if it records the sanctity of St. Theodulf, it is probably from the area of Orleans; if the Three Kings, probably from Cologne; if St. Denys, perhaps from Paris, and so on, with greater or less degrees of local definition. The obvious reason being that the saints have a preference for localities, or localities a preference for saints. It is not even necessary that the saint should have had a real existence. St. Lucy of Syracuse was probably invented to set off against the superior magic of St. Agnes of Catania, and both of them are probably apocryphal. Saints may be the badges of cities, the personifications of provinces. In this way they acquire political significance as well as local celebrity, though it may not always be easy to see what the political meaning is, for even great Churches cover their tracks, and as Jesus once pointed out, the religious world is divided into two sects, those who worship they know not what, and those who know what they worship. How many members of the Catholic Church can tell us why, in the invocation of the saints in the Mass, the names of the Apostles are followed, amongst other pious supplementary beings, by the names of Cosmas and Damian? All we can say is that these are imported from the East where they were a pair of twin-brothers practising medicine without fee, a very thin disguise of the Heavenly Twins; but why they came to Rome, who shall say? That they should become the patron saints of the *Medici* is more obvious. In this case we may fail to detect political significance, even if we are sure it was there.

A more clear illustration may be found to the above generalised statement as to political significance accompanying local provenience

in the case of the Twins who presided over Soissons and the area around it. How many churches are devoted to the memory of Crispin and Crispinian whose very names betray brotherhood by assonance. Yet these names have recently been restored to the proposed new Anglican Calendar, not because they are twins (which Heaven forbid !) but because they helped the English to win the battle of Agincourt and so led Henry V. to say through Shakespeare that

"Crispin-Crispian shall ne'er go by
From this day to the ending of the world,
But we in it shall be remembered."

The liturgical sanction is, therefore, political ; it is also literary, and we may say, if we please, that Shakespeare is in the calendar, if we know what we worship.

Now in returning to our theme, which is the canonisation of Pilate, we observe first of all that it is local. Pilate is a saint in the Coptic Church. He is, also, a saint in the Greek Church appearing in their lists along with his wife Procula. We shall find all about Procula in reading our document. She is, in fact, one of the links in the evidence for canonisation. She attained celestial rank herself, and drew her husband after her. We must try and review the evidence. The Copts, indeed, have gone so far in conferring rank upon him that they regard him as a citizen of their own country as well as one of the high-born kinsmen of heaven. He is even reviled in our story on account of his nationality, as Pilate the Egyptian. So we may say that Pilate is a saint of the Levant and Egypt, but not, as far as one can see, of the Syrian Churches or of the Latins. However, we have learnt something, for if this liturgical acceptance is not universal, it will be very probable that where he does attain calendar rank, it will be reached gradually, for it is almost impossible to believe that any people who were familiar with the Gospels, or able to supplement them from the pages of the historian Josephus, should have, at one step, moved from the conception of a villain to the contemplation of a saint. The process must have been gradual, and the embroidery of Dr. James was attached to the story bit by bit. We must study the matter more closely in order to find out how the Jewish hatred for a wicked and rapacious governor was changed into a pious memory of the Christians.

Meanwhile we find we are in a position of historical advantage, for whether good or bad, rapacious or compassionate, we are sure that Pilate existed. Not even Mr. J. M. Robertson can prove his history to be capable of reduction to myth. There is too much about him in the Roman historians, over and above what we find in the Gospels and in Josephus, to allow us to regard him, at all events, as the villain of the Gospel Tragedy. We may have our suspicions about Procula, whom we find conjoined in canonicity, as we may have our doubts about the canonisation itself; but Pilate is too firmly set in history to be capable of displacement.

In the earliest creed of the Church, so far as we can detect it in the dark backward and abysm of time, there are only three historical persons, Jesus, Mary, and Pilate; Jesus was born of Mary and suffered under Pontius Pilate. When we think of this historical reference, we may be perplexed at the terms employed. They are commonly rendered 'under Pontius Pilate' (ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου) which probably means '*in the days of Pontius Pilate.*' We should have expected the creed to say, 'In the time of Tiberius' (ἐπὶ Τιβερίου) and if the statement is to have chronological value for those who were taught to recite the creed, Pontius Pilate bulks larger than the Emperor. We should not *a priori* have expected this; it certainly suggests a very high antiquity for the creedal formula, even if one explains that it assumes the Gospel record. For as far as the Roman governors of provinces were concerned, they did not make calendars out of them; they passed away, and the peoples they pillaged were glad to forget them. Does one make a Sicilian calendar with Verres in it? But where is a Roman governor whom people over the wide area of the early Christian propaganda were glad to remember, and were instructed not to forget?

The same thing occurs in the curious reference to Pontius Pilate in the Pastoral Epistles. These epistles, whatever may be the ultimate decision as to their authorship, are of much later date than the Gospels; they were certainly written long after Pontius Pilate had come to a good or bad end. Yet we find St. Paul advising St. Timothy to remember that the confession of faith which he had himself made in the presence of many witnesses had a parallel in the good confession of Jesus Christ before Pontius Pilate. Here the same expression, ἐπὶ Ποντίου Πειλάτου is used, and we can hardly translate it as 'under

Pontius Pilate.' It looks almost creedal ; so we have again, whatever the date of the document may be, a historical remembrance of the Roman governor, who occupies so great a place in the Gospel.

The point which we have made may seem to be trivial ; it is not really so. If we were writing the history of that time as contemporaneous observers, we should have said 'in the days of Tiberius,' or if we were Galileans, 'in the time of Herod.' Here we pick up our clue and the interpretation of the dignity which Pilate attained ; he has attained it at the expense, not of Tiberius, but of Herod. Why has Herod no place in the creed, no record in the noble confession of Jesus ? One bad man is as good as another in this connection, and the Gospels make no secret of Herod's contempt for Jesus. Pilate and Herod were made friends by the Trial of Christ. How then do they occupy such diverse positions as the history of the Church develops ? Is not Herod just as distinguished a historical character as Pilate ?

In the *Acts of the Apostles* the two are associated in the proof from the second Psalm that the heathen who raged and the kings and rulers of the earth who gathered together against the Messiah were *Herod and Pilate and the Jews*. They are all in the same condemnation for their impotent rage. We have to explain how Pilate became detached from Herod and dissociated from the Jews, and how he became a Christian and was revered as a saint. Our document will help us to understand the process ; but we are not limited to our late Coptic tradition or its Greek correlative. We can actually trace the beginning of the process in the times which immediately followed the publication of the Gospels.

When the fragment of the lost *Gospel of Peter* was recovered from an Egyptian tomb in the year 1884, the opening sentences of the new document were significant :

"But of the Jews no man washed his hands, neither did Herod nor any one of his judges ; and whereas they would not wash, Pilate rose up."

Here we have a definite removal of Pilate from the Jews and Herod ; and the writer goes on to make Herod and not Pilate pronounce the condemnation of Jesus. In Dr. James' introduction to the fragment, which he does not think of an earlier date than A.D. 150, he remarks that "another characteristic of (the Gospel) is its extremely anti-Judaic attitude. Blame is thrown on the Jews wherever possible,

and Pilate is whitewashed." It might be equally well said that blame was thrown upon Herod. So here we have, before the middle of the second century, the commencement of the process of canonisation, which, in its preliminary stage, may properly be called whitewashing. It is from the Gospel itself that the process starts, the uncanonical Gospel merely accentuating the statement of the canonical. Pilate washes his hands, and Pilate dissociates himself from Herod and from the Jews. That is the road to sanctity. The action of Pilate to which we refer became stereotyped in Christian teaching and in Christian art. The Catacombs record it, and, to come down to modern times, the great East window of Kings' College, Cambridge, represents Pilate as its central figure, washing his hands as the central act of his part in the sacred drama. So much of the tradition is probably continuous from the beginning; for we find when we read the Apocryphal *Acts of Pilate* that special emphasis is laid on the fact that Pilate took water and washed his hands *before the sun*. This may have been derived from the Gospel of Peter, for there must have been a reference to Pilate's action before we can say that 'none of the Jews nor Herod' washed hands; and anyone can verify for himself that in the *Acts of Pilate* the whitewash has been applied in a very liberal manner, and the anti-Judaic attitude is as pronounced, on Pilate's part, as possible. We even suspect that he quotes actual Christian *Testimonies against the Jews*, however unsuitable that may be for a Roman governor. The elongation between them has now gone far beyond what the Gospels assert.

If the point of departure for the canonisation of Pilate is the evangelical statement that he washed his hands in public, as if to disown the verdict which he was about to pronounce, a similar starting-point for his wife Procula will be found in the story of her dream, in consequence of which she sent a message of appeal to her husband not to countenance the attack which the Jews were making on Jesus. Here also the canonisation is a gradual evolution of legendary ideas. She obtains first a name, then a religion, and lastly a conversion: she is Procula, the Jewess; she becomes, as in our book, Procula the Christian.

There is, however, this difference between her progress and that of Pilate. We cannot be as sure of the historicity of the incident which Luke records, and of the involved personality, as we can be

sure of Pilate. If we are asked why we should blur a figure which a good historical artist like Luke has inserted on his canvas, the answer must be made that, without unduly disparaging Luke and his work, we must admit that Procula is not the only wife who has dreams and uses them as intercessory appeals with her husband on behalf of the abject and the suffering. For instance, we were engaged in a recent study of the *Apocryphal Life of Jeremiah*.¹ Here we found the statement that the wife of Nebuchadnezzar makes a personal appeal to her husband not to engage in hostile movement against the Jews, on the ground that they are the people of God, and obtain at once whatever they ask from Him. With this we compared the story in the Talmud,² where the mother of the Persian King, Shapor II, says to her son, "Have nothing to do with those Jews, for whatever they ask from their Lord, He gives it. them." The queen-mother's name is Iphra-Hormiz, and when we notice that in the Jeremiah story she is *awakened out of sleep* in order to intercede for the Jews, the parallel between Iphra-Hormiz and Procula becomes even closer than that with the wife of Nebuchadnezzar. So we must reserve the question of Procula's historicity, for fear of falling into a cycle of folk-lore legends. Or, if we set that suspicion on one side, we may at least ask, in view of the sympathies which the Jews recognise on the part of Iphra-Hormiz with themselves, whether it is not natural to have regarded Pilate's wife as a Jewess, either actually or secretly. At all events the Apocryphal writers recognised her as such at a very early date; nor was there any improbability in the Roman Governor having a Jewess for wife. We have a similar case, and there must have been many more, in Felix and Drusilla. That Procula was a Jewess becomes an actual motive in the narration of the *Acts of Pilate*; for here we find Pilate using it as an argument with the Jews, when trying to dissuade them from further hostility to Jesus; accordingly, "Pilate called unto him all the Jews, and said unto them: 'Ye know that my wife feareth God, and favoureth rather the customs of the Jews, with you'? They say unto him: 'Yes, we know it.' Pilate saith unto them: 'Lo! my wife hath sent unto me, saying: Have nothing to do with this just man, for I have suffered many things because of him by night.' But the Jews answered and said unto

¹ *Woodbrooke Studies*, Vol. I.

² *Taanith*, xxiv., 2.

Pilate: 'Said we not unto thee that he is a sorcerer? Behold, he hath sent a vision of a dream unto thy wife.'

In this account there is no difference of opinion between Pilate and the Jews on the question whether Procula is a Jewess. They only differ on the point whether Jesus is a magician or not. If Luke's account is genuine history, it must at a very early date have had attached to it the observation that Procula was a Jewess. After that the Christian story-teller has only to record her conversion to the Christian faith, such as we find her confessing in the document before us. Long before the *Acts of Pilate* were in circulation, Christian writers had taken steps to explain that Procula belonged to their fold and not to the other.

Origen could hardly be expected to keep his contemplative and allegorical mind off the statement in the Gospel that Pilate's wife had suffered on account of Christ. Was not such suffering a form of confession, the open door to sanctity? He will not commit himself too absolutely to the proposition that Pilate's wife is, by the evangelical description, a Christian. "God only knows," says he, "whether the beginning of her conversion was the fact of her suffering many things for Jesus in a vision. It is, however, so stated in certain writings which are not among the authorised scriptures" (*tamen continetur etiam hoc in scripturis quibusdam non publicis*).¹ Here the conversion is assumed, and a reference is made to documents of a character similar to the one that we are studying. We have in this way obtained a rapid vision of the process by which Pilate's wife passed into the calendars of the Coptic Church as St. Procula, and the Greek Church as St. Procla. In the Coptic Church Pilate and his wife are commemorated together; in the Greek Church their fellowship is not so evident; indeed it is not clear from the popular Synaxarion why Procla is commemorated. The Zante Synaxarion has no historical introduction, but only the doggerel Greek verses with which every notice of a saint is summed up, in this case as follows:—

Ἐχει παρεστῶσάν σε, Πρόκλα, Δεσπότης,
Ὁ Πειλάτῳ πρὶν σὺ παραστὰς συζύγῳ.

It is not very easy to make out the meaning of this: how did the Lord stand by Pilate? and how does the Lord have Procla standing

¹ Origen, *Comm. in Matt.*, 122.

by him? These are very bad verses; they assume that Procla is a Christian; do they make a similar assumption for Pilate? How soon, in any case, did Pilate "strike the trail?"

According to Tertullian, Pilate was always a Christian, if judged by his conscience. Tertullian goes up to him and says, "Almost thou persuadest me that thou art a Christian."¹ The problem is, how to put that Christian conscience "on the film," where consciences are so hard to register, and where the mere washing of hands seemed an inadequate demonstration of faith. So it occurred to some Christian story-teller that the right way to stage the conversion, and make it historically incontrovertible, was to put Pilate through the very same sufferings which, in consequence of his lack of courage, were inflicted on Jesus. Let the unjust judge become the criminal, and let him be scourged and spit on and finally crucified after the manner of Jesus. This is the main thread of the story of Pilate as we have it in our document.

As we have seen above, it is to the Coptic Church that Pilate owes the greater part of his spiritual dignity; and this Coptic element in tradition comes out clearly enough in our documents, even though they should actually be written in Arabic. This does not mean that the original point of departure of the widespread Pilate literature was Egyptian. The nucleus of the mass of legends is the very early belief that Pilate made some sort of a report to Rome, which, if it ever existed and could be recovered, would be the official *Acts of Pilate* of which our existing *Acta Pilati* are a clumsy caricature. Such a belief in such a document is found in the Eastern Church as well as in the West. For instance, that very early Syriac document which Cureton published under the title of the *Doctrine of Simon Cephas in the City of Rome* has it in a very definite form.

"Touching these things the Governor Pilate was also witness, for he sent and made them known to Cæsar, and these things, and more than these things, were read before him in your city. And on this account Cæsar was angry against Pilate, etc."

It is clear that the existence of an official report from Pilate to Tiberius was common belief in the Church everywhere and not limited to Egypt. That our documents have a Coptic ancestry is

¹ *Ap.*, 21.

evident from their study both internal and external. Here is a curious bit of evidence which might easily escape notice, but will be significant to those who are expert in the study of ancient documents. When Pilate is challenged by the imperial messenger who has come from Tiberius, and asked to explain why he killed Jesus without consulting the Emperor, he expresses his willingness to die for the name of Christ. The Jews then say to the imperial envoy: "What is the use of speaking to him while he insults you *in the Coptic language*?" a sentence which will be perplexing to most readers: but there is something like the same perplexity in the English Bible in the Book of Daniel (Dan. ii. 4), where we are told that the magicians said to the king *in Syriac*, etc. What really happened was that there was a linguistic change in the document at this point from Hebrew to Syriac or Aramaic, and this change has been noted on the margin and has affected the speech of the magicians. In the same way the words *in the Coptic language* have crept into our text. They only mean that there has been a change of dialect, probably from Arabic to Coptic, in the original documents. There is no need to make Pilate talk Coptic, even if he is elsewhere called an Egyptian. Other traces of Coptic in the tradition of our Pilate story will easily be detected.

We are not, however, limited to a study of our MSS. when we affirm the existence of Egyptian elements in the tradition. As we have already pointed out, there are in existence a number of Coptic documents, chiefly preserved in fragments, which are of considerable age and occupy themselves with the very same theme as those here presented. The principal of these is the series which were published by M. Revillout, and are reproduced in the second volume of the *Patrologia Orientalis*. Although only a series of fragments, the major part of them form a part of a lost document, written in the name of Gamaliel, and forming what we may call *the Gamaliel book* on Pontius Pilate and the Sorrows of the Virgin. But this is the very same authorship that is suggested in our MSS. Our text, although recurring in somewhat diverse forms, is a Gamaliel book.

The proof of these statements is not difficult. We have an account of the way in which Barabbas, who is here called Barnaban, plotted with the Jews, using his wicked wife as an intermediary, in order to secure the arrest of the Saviour. Then we are told that "after this the wicked company of the Jews resolved to kill Pilate and his wife

and his children and to plunder their possessions. ‘*When I, Gamaliel, learnt the conspiracy of these wicked people, I did not neglect the matter, but I hastened to Joseph of Arimathea, etc.*’” Here it will be noticed that the indirect narration of the historian has suddenly become direct, and Gamaliel is the speaker. The book, then, may rightly be described as a Gamaliel book.

Again, we have an account of the onslaught made by the Jews upon Joseph and Nicodemus for the part which they had in the burial of the Lord. The angel Gabriel comes to their aid, and then we are told that “those two blessed ones (i.e. Joseph and Nicodemus) sent for me in secret, me, Gamaliel, and narrated to me what the angel had spoken to them.” The narration has now changed into *oratio recta* and Gamaliel is the speaker. Turn next to the second section of our story, that which relates especially to the sorrows of the Virgin and read the concluding paragraph:—

“Let us here end the discourse on the Virgin and her sweet wailing, and on the death and resurrection of her Son from the dead. These words have been written by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and they placed them in Jerusalem, the holy city.”

Here we have an external testimony to be joined to the previous internal evidence that the whole of our documents profess to be by the hand of Gamaliel. But Gamaliel is in the text as well as in the colophon; for in the text we have, “I Gamaliel was following the crowd to the well that was in the garden.”

If now we turn to the Revillout fragments either as printed in Coptic and translated in the *Patrologia Orientalis*, or as summarised by Dr. M. R. James in his *Apocryphal New Testament*, we shall find that the thirteenth fragment begins with a dialogue between Pilate and the Centurion, who go to the garden of Joseph, where the Jews say the body of Jesus lies at the bottom of a well. The story moves into the direct narration, “And I, Gamaliel, followed them among the band.” So here, also, we have the assumed Gamaliel authorship, and an almost exact coincidence with our text.

It was not difficult, even before the discovery of our documents, to infer that the major part of the Revillout fragments belonged to a single book. Revillout, indeed, was wrong in calling this book by the name of the *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles*, but he was corrected by

Baumstark, who rightly recognised the Gamaliel authorship¹ and united the fragments numbered 2, 3, 4, 5, 11, 12, 13 under his name. Now that we have our own complete document to work from, it is easy to see fragment after fragment from Revillout in our text.

The easiest way to put before the reader the fact that our document is substantially the lost or missing Gamaliel book of which Revillout and others have brought forward fragments, will be to take a single one of Revillout's published documents, translated below by Dr. Mingana, for a closer study, and leave the remainder for reference in Dr. Mingana's foot-notes at the places where they naturally occur.

Suppose, then, we take the thirteenth fragment (of which Dr. James has given an account on p. 151 of his *Apocryphal New Testament*) We premise that this fragment, as was pointed out above, is definitely assigned to Gamaliel. It contains an incident in the story of the Centurion who, in the Gospel, has the oversight of the crucifixion of Jesus, and was so overwhelmed by what he saw and heard at that time as to break out into an ejaculation of supreme faith and wonder. It was natural enough, and might indeed have been predicted, that legend should accumulate round the person of this Centurion. It does so in a manner that has some parallel with that of Procula. First of all he must have a name, and then a new religion. This is found by identifying him with the soldier in the Fourth Gospel, who pierced the side of Jesus, after death, to assure himself of the same, with a spear. The Greek word for spear being λόγχη (Lonchē), it was easy to christen him Longinus; that preserved his Latin soldiery and his Greek armature. The next thing was to christen him in a more exact sense by making him a primitive confessor and believer in Jesus, and this was almost ready to hand in the Gospel itself. It only remains, to use Dr. James' way of describing the manner of production of these Coptic documents, to put the frill on the frock. That brings us to the thirteenth fragment of Revillout. It was written on a double leaf, with an evident discontinuity between them, of which the natural explanation is that another double leaf or more stood between the folded portions of the fragment. Let us see what can be done by way of divination as to the missing pages and their contents, before Dr. Mingana comes to our aid with his Garshūni text.

¹ *Revue Biblique Internationale*, 1906, p. 245.

Dr. James puts the case thus :—

“It is a narrative connected with the resurrection. We find Pilate examining four soldiers as to their statement that the body of Jesus was stolen. (This is the account in Matthew.) One (the second ; the testimony of the first is gone) says the eleven apostles took the body ; the third says Joseph and Nicodemus ; the fourth, ‘we were asleep.’ They are imprisoned, and Pilate goes with the Centurion and the priests to the tomb and finds the grave-clothes. He says, ‘If the body had been stolen, these would have been taken too.’ They say, ‘These grave-clothes belong to some one else.’ Pilate remembers the words of Jesus, ‘Great wonders must happen in my tomb,’ and goes in and weeps over the shroud. Then he turns to the Centurion, who had but one eye, having lost the other in battle.”

The exact terms of the fragment at this point are as follows, according to Revillout’s translation :—

“Il fixa son attention sur le centurion qui se tenait debout à la porte du tombeau et vit qu’il n’avait qu’un seul oeil (car on avait crevé l’autre dans le combat) et qu’il la cachait de sa main, tout le temps, pour ne pas voir la lumière.”

Then comes the gap, of which Dr. James not unnaturally says that in the gap no doubt stood the statement that the Centurion’s eye was healed by contact with the grave-clothes of the Redeemer. Now let us turn to our document. We first restore the evidence of soldier No. 1 :

“Pilate said to him, ‘Tell me the truth : who carried away the body of Jesus ?’ and he answered, ‘Peter and John.’”

Then we look at the visit of Pilate to the tomb :

“Pilate took the wrappings, that is the pieces of linen with which Jesus was shrouded, wept over them and embraced them with joy. *Then he looked at the Centurion who was standing at the entrance to the tomb, and who was with one eye only, as his other eye had been put out in a war, and a considerable time had elapsed without his having seen anything with it.* Pilate then conceived the idea, through the greatness of his faith, that these wrappings will give light to the Centurion’s eye, etc.”

In this way Dr. James’ conjecture was justified. The motive for the miracle lies further back. Miracles were to be expected, says Pilate, at the tomb of Jesus : one of them was that the blind should

there receive their sight. Hence the one-eyed Longinus and his recovery.

The simple incident which we have been studying will enable the reader to see how our new document helps us to unify and arrange the Coptic fragments which had been collected by Revillout and others.

It is interesting to notice that from another quarter, the literature of the Ethiopic church, another fragment of the Gamaliel book has come to light. This may have also come from a Coptic source, or perhaps from the Arabic. Dr. James quotes it from the *Newbery House Magazine* for 1892, p. 641. In this fragment the "Jews explain to Pilate that the sweet odour of the sepulchre is due to the spices put on the body by Joseph, and to the flowers in the garden. . . . After a gap is a prayer of Pilate's in which he asks pardon for having put 'another body in the place where they put Thy body.'"

The reader will easily find out what is the reason of the gap, and how the body of the penitent thief came to be put into the sepulchre of Jesus in place of His own. It is quite one of the most interesting episodes in our narration, one of the prettiest frills upon the somewhat torn robe of the Gospels. That there may be some early elements in these traditions should be conceded; but the actual historical gain is an almost irreducible minimum, for it stands already near zero.

All who read these accounts will admire the skill with which Dr. Mingana has reduced to shape for us these difficult documents. We doubt if anyone else would even have attempted the task.

PREFACES, EDITIONS, AND TRANSLATIONS.

BY A. MINGANA.

I. The Lament of the Virgin.

PREFATORY NOTE.

I GIVE in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of a new document dealing with the resurrection of our Lord and the lamentations of His mother over His body on the occasion of His crucifixion. The immediate author of the document is said to be Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real author of all the historical events that it contains is Gamaliel, who often speaks in it in the first person. It seems to constitute another link in the apocryphal chain of the *Acta Pilati* or the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. It has also the advantage of supplying the deficiencies of the Coptic fragments published by Revilout under the general but possibly inaccurate title of *Evangile des douze Apôtres*.¹ In some respect it may also be brought within the circle of the documents edited by Lacau in his *Fragments d'Apocryphes Coptes*,² and of the *Coptic Gospel of Bartholomew* first translated by Crum³ and then edited and translated by Budge.⁴

I have edited the work from two MSS. of my own collection numbered Mingana Syr. 87 and Mingana Syr. 127 (henceforth M. 87 and M. 127). M. 87 has no date, but on Palæographic ground may be ascribed to about A.D. 1450, and M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683). I was unable to find a third MS. containing the document in the catalogues of the public libraries of Europe.

¹ *Pat. Orient.* ii. 123-183. See about this title Baumstark in *Revue Biblique*, 1906, p. 245. He rightly refers the story to a Gamaliel apocryphon. The present documents bear out his opinion.

² *Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire*, 1904.

³ *Light of Egypt*, 1910.

⁴ *Coptic Apocrypha in the dialect of Upper Egypt*, 1913.

There are sufficient variants in the two MSS. to justify us in holding that they are independent of each other, but we should be infringing the rules of philology and textual criticism were we to assert that they represent two distinct recensions of the same story. The story is undoubtedly one and the variant readings exhibited by the MSS. are to a greater or lesser degree similar to those exhibited by more than half of all the existing Oriental MSS.

I placed the text of M. 87 in the body of the page and relegated to the foot-notes the variants of M. 127. As the number of these variants is not very considerable, I have not found it cumbersome to register almost all of them with the exception of those which are exclusively of the domain of orthography. I have likewise referred in the translation to all the important discrepancies of the two MSS.

I have edited the text in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) as it is found in the MSS., and in order not to swell the foot-notes without appreciable advantage I have neglected to correct the numerous grammatical mistakes committed by the author. These are more or less similar to those to which I often drew the attention of the reader in the notes found in the first volume of my *Woodbrooke Studies*.

To show the close relationship that exists between our new document and the mutilated Coptic fragments published by E. Revillout in the *Pat. Orient.* (ii. 169-174), I shall give here a complete translation of the latter. It will be seen at a glance that our new document is derived from Coptic sources, and that in the case of fragment 15 it is a direct translation from such Coptic texts as the following. I indicate the lacunæ in the fragments by three dots.

FRAGMENT 14.

" . . . The mothers who in these countries have seen the death of their children, when they go to their tomb in order to see the body of those over whom they weep, great consolation and great . . . result for them. As to me I came out to see it . . . with all these . . . hanging on the cross like a robber . . . Lo . . .

" . . . She opened her eyes, as they were closed in order not to look towards the earth because of its scandals. And she said to Him with joy : ' O Master, my Lord, my God, my Son, you have risen,

you have truly risen.' But He restrained her and implored her, saying : ' O my mother, do not touch me. Wait for a while, because it is the garment which my Father gave me when He raised me up. It is impossible that anything carnal should touch me until I go to heaven.'

"This body, however, is the one in which I spent nine months in your womb. . . . Know these things, O my mother. This flesh is the one which I received in you. It is the one which rested in my tomb, and it is also the one which rose to-day and which stands now before you. Examine well my hands and my feet, O Mary, my mother, and know that it is me whom you have nourished. Do not doubt, O my mother, that I am your Son. It is I who delivered you into the hands of John at the time when I was hanging on the cross.

"Now, O my mother, go in haste and tell my brethren and say to them . . . according to His words which I uttered to you, go to Galilee where you will find me. Hasten because it is not possible for me not to go to heaven to my Father.

"Those who have suffered with me on the earth . . . (The rest is missing.)

FRAGMENT 15.

" . . . And (Pilate) called the second (soldier) and said to him : ' I know that you are more truthful than all these. Tell me (how many Apostles) took the body of Jesus in the tomb ? And he answered : " Eleven of them came with their disciples, and took it by stealth, and separated themselves only from this one ' (*i.e.* Judas ?).

"And he summoned the third and said to him : ' I esteem your witness more than that of the rest. Who took the body of Jesus in the tomb ? ' And he replied to him : ' Joseph and Nicodemus and their parents ' (*sic*).

"And he summoned the fourth and said to him : ' You are the most important one among them, and I let them go all of them. Tell me now (what happened) when they took from your hands the body of Jesus in the tomb ? ' And he replied to him : ' O my lord, we were asleep. We had forgotten ourselves and we were not able to know who took it. Then we rose up and looked for it but did not find it. . . . We have apprised . . . '

" . . . Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion : ' These people are lying in this way and their words are contradictory.' And

he gave orders to secure soldiers until he had gone to the tomb. At that moment he rose up with the heads of the Jews, the Sanhedrin, and the high priests. They found the wrappings placed on the ground without body there.

“And Pilate said, ‘O men who hate their own souls, if they had taken the body they would have also taken the wrappings.’ And they said to him : ‘Do you not see that they are not his but that they belong to some others ?’ Pilate remembered then the words of Jesus : ‘It is imperative that great miracles should take place in my tomb.’ Pilate hastened then to enter into the tomb. He seized the wrappings of Jesus, which he pressed against his breast and over which he wept. He kissed them with joy as if Jesus were wrapt in them. Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the door of the tomb and noticed that he had one eye only—because they had put out the other in a war—which he hid with his hand all the time in order not to see the light.

“Then Pilate . . .

“ . . . The flame of his wrath has come on you. And they acquiesced in this condemnation, saying : ‘may His blood and His death be on us for ever !’

“And Pilate said to the centurion : ‘O my brother, do not exchange in vain the true life which you have received for the lie and the quiet (*sic*) of the Jews.’ This is what he said in the presence of the Jews. . . .

“ . . . Pilate and the centurion went to the well of water of the garden, which was very deep. And I Gamaliel followed them in the crowd. They looked in the well and the Jews cried : ‘O Pilate . . . Is this not the body of Jesus who died ?’ And (Joseph and Nicodemus) said : ‘O our Lord, the wrappings which you hold are those of Jesus. As to this body it belongs to the robber who was crucified with Jesus . . . Joseph and Nicodemus placed the wrappings . . .

“ . . . And Pilate remembered what Jesus had said : ‘The dead shall rise in my tomb.’ And thereupon he summoned the heads of the Jews and said to them : ‘Do you believe that this is the Nazarene ?’ And they answered : ‘We believe.’ And he said : ‘It is right then to place His body in His tomb, as it is done to all the dead . . .’”

There is no doubt whatever that the present Garshūni document

which I am editing and translating is a translation, or at least a very close imitation, of a Coptic document of which fragments only have come down to us. That Egypt is also responsible for many other statements of the author will be made abundantly clear in the foot-notes that I have ventured to add to the narrative.

In my opinion the present document has nothing in common with Syriac literature or with the Syrian and Palestinian Church in general. It has been preserved to us by West Syrian copyists living either in Egypt or in Palestine, and this constitutes the only link that connects it with the great Syrian Church. This remark applies with equal right to the two works: *A Jeremiah Apocryphon* and *A New Life of John the Baptist* which I edited and translated in the first volume of *Woodbrooke Studies* and to the *Martyrdom of Pilate* which I have also edited and translated below.

I give to the work the provisional title of *The Lament of the Virgin*.

TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will write a discourse composed by Cyriacus,¹ bishop of the town of Bahnasa,² on the merits of the pure Virgin our Lady³ Mary, and her affectionate weeping on the day of the crucifixion of our Lord, when on the day of His holy resurrection she went to the door of the sepulchre of her Son and did not find His body, because He had risen up from the dead. May his⁴ blessing be with us. Amen.

He said :

The weeping of Jacob, the head of the Patriarchs, has been

¹ This Cyriacus is to be identified with "Cyriacus, bishop of Bahnasa" who has two Arabic discourses on the history of the flight of Christ to Egypt. They are found in Paris Arab. 155 (pp. 160-188) and analysed in *R.O.C.*, xv. 157-161. He lived in the beginning of the 15th century.

² Formerly a rather important town near the Lybian desert, and in our days an insignificant village. In old Egyptian it is called Permezet, in Coptic Penje and in Greek Πέμπτη. It is better known to us by another Greek name *Oxyrhynchus*. It was a bishopric, and constituted one of the chief centres of Christian Egypt; it has been said that at one time it contained as many as 360 churches. Although much exaggerated the number testifies to the importance of the place as a Christian centre.

³ The Syr. *Mart.* See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 243.

⁴ Bishop Cyriacus. M. 127 has: "his prayer."

renewed to-day, O my beloved ; why then should not the Virgin Mary weep over her Son whom she conceived in virginity ? Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one for whom she suffered the pangs of parturition ?¹ Why should not the Virgin Mary weep over the one into whose divine mouth she placed her virginal breast ? Why should not the Virgin weep over the manger, which is in Bethlehem ? Why should not the Virgin weep over her beloved Son whom she carried during nine months of gestation ? Why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she brought forth and suckled ?

If Rachel weeps over children whom she has never embraced, why should not the Virgin weep over the one whom she carried in her arms like all babes ?² If Rachel weeps over children for whom she did not run from place to place, why should not the Virgin weep over her child with whom she ran from country to country. If Rachel weeps over children whose tombs she has not seen, why should not the Virgin weep at the door of her only Son's sepulchre.

The weeping of a venerable old man³ has been renewed to-day for a young,⁴ virgin woman. Jacob did not see Joseph bound by his brothers, but the Virgin saw her Son nailed to the wood of the cross. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers threw him while hungry into the depths of the well, so that he might weep over him ; but the Virgin saw her Son hanging on the cross in the middle (of two male-factors), before all the Jews. Jacob did not see Joseph when his brothers stripped him of his clothes, but the Virgin saw her Son in a naked state in the middle of Jews devoid of understanding. Jacob did not see Joseph being sold to Egyptian merchants for thirty *denarii*, but the Virgin saw her Son when Judas sold Him for thirty pieces of silver. Jacob wept over a foreign blood and over a robe that was not torn by wild beasts, but it is over a divine blood smeared on the rock of the *Kranion*⁵ that the Virgin is weeping, and over the foreign robe⁶ which her Son was wearing, since they had divided His garments among themselves. The brothers of Joseph wept and

¹ Evidently the author does not believe in the painless birth of Christ.

² Lit. "like all men."

³ The Patriarch Jacob mentioned at the beginning.

⁴ Read *Shābbatin*.

⁵ The author uses the Greek word *κρανίον* (*al-akrānion*).

⁶ Which foreign robe ?

repented that they had sold their brother, but the Children of Israel did not weep when they sold their Lord.¹ The sons of Jacob rejoiced when their brother reigned (over Egypt), but the Jews did not rejoice when their Lord rose up from the dead.

O pure Virgin, your wailing over the tomb of your beloved Son is truly sweet and your voice is melodious in the middle of the angels, when they brought to you the sad news and said : " O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is standing before the Governor and is being judged and insulted by the High Priest of the Jews ? " O Mary, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being stripped in the court of His garment dyed (with His blood) ? O daughter of Joiakim, what are you doing sitting, while your Son is carrying alone a cross in the streets of Jerusalem, and no one comes near Him ? O dove of Hannah what are you doing sitting, while your Son is being crucified in the place of the *Kranion* ? O seed of David, why have they lifted your Son on the cross ?

O my pure and Virgin Lady, your wailing is truly sweet to-day in the house of John, while saying :² " Oh, how bitter is this messenger who came to me to-day ! He is more bitter than the messenger of death who came to Job and to Jacob—Israel. Oh, how cruel is the intelligencer who came to me to-day, O my Child ! He is more cruel than the one who announced to Lot the burning of his town. Oh, how painful is the news that came to me to-day, O my child ! It is more painful than the news concerning the death of the valiant men of Israel. Oh, how cruel is the messenger who brought me this bad news, O my child ! (This child) has comforted me for thirty years, and He never furnished me with an occasion to chide Him and scold Him. (What adds bitterness) to the news is that the one who brought it to me is Salome ! All my sorrow has began again !

" O my child, I have never been to a Governor, nor have I ever stood before a judge. I have never seen a robber being killed, nor have I ever gone to the *Kranion*, nor do I know the place of the Golgotha. O my child, I have never stood before a man engaged in litigation so that I might realise the false wisdom (that has been applied to your case) ; nor have I ever been present in a law court, so that I

¹ This sentence is missing in M. 127.

² M. 127 : " while sitting."

might realise the injustice that has been done to you. O my child, I am inside the house of John, and you are in the house of the High-Priest Annas. O my child, this cruel news that concerns you has outweighed the sadness of my orphanhood, and the painful information relating to you has to-day¹ deprived me of my joy. The angel announced to me your birth in Nazareth, and I have been announced this cruel news about you in Jerusalem.² Your Annunciation occurred to me in the house of Joseph, and this bad news was brought to me in the house of John. O my beloved, I was rejoicing in my heart and saying constantly, 'To-morrow we shall have our passover, accomplish the ordinance of the feast and return to our home ;' the passover has come to me, O my beloved Son, with weeping and wailing ! My feast has changed into lamentation and my passover into grief !"

The Virgin uttered this affectionate wailing³ in the house of John when they brought to her the sad news of her Son. Then she began to look for one of His holy disciples to walk with her, but she did not find any, because all had fled and forsaken Him from fear of the Jews. She asked for Peter to accompany her, and she was informed that from his fear of the High Priest he had denied her Son, saying, "I do not know Him," and that he had gone and hidden himself from Him. She asked for James, the brother of the Lord, and she was informed that he had fled and left Him on the mount where He was seized. She asked for Andrew, and she was informed that he had never come with Him to town at all. She asked for Thomas, and she was informed that he had thrown down his garments and fled. She asked for the son of Tulmas,⁴ and she was informed that he was the first of His brethren to flee. She asked for Philip, and she was informed that when he saw the torches burning, he was terrified and fled. She asked for James, the brother of John, and she was informed that he never even looked at Him. She asked for Matthew, and she was informed that he was afraid of the Jews⁵ more than all others, as they had a special grudge against him from the time he used to collect taxes from

¹ M. 87 omits "to-day."

² See on this word my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 153.

³ M. 127 omits "affectionate wailing."

⁴ *I.e.* Bartholomew. The author is dividing the word into two and translating the Aramaeo-Syriac *bar* by "son of."

⁵ M. 87 adds: "and of the High Priests."

them, and he had, therefore, fled in the darkness of the night. In short she asked for all of them, and she did not find a single one of them except John who had accompanied Him to the *Kranion* and the Golgotha.

Then the Virgin resumed her weeping and wailing, because she was not able to find any of the Apostles, the disciples of her Son, except John, and said while weeping :

“Woe is me, O my Son and O my beloved, because your brethren fled and disappeared. O my father Peter, I was thinking every day that you would not deny your Master. You have not been given gold and silver that you denied Him so quickly. You have not been presented with a boat and oars, why then did you deny to-day your Master and your Lord? You have not had the gift of a son or a daughter (as the price of your denial), O Peter, and you have not had the offer of exchanging Him for a brother or a friend, why then this spiritless weakness of yours? You did not see a second cross, O Peter, which you believed might be for you, that you were so terrified that you denied Him. He gave you a tongue of iron, O Peter, and you melted it and spoiled it without fire or a smith. He bestowed grace upon you,¹ O Peter, more than all men, and you did not bear now a single slap for your Master. He bestowed on you, O Peter, two eyes the light of which does not fade, and you did not feel ashamed to deny their light.² He confided to you, O Peter, the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and you did not suffer a short time (for Him) in the prison of the High Priest.

“He made you, O Peter, His deputy to all the world, and you did not endure a single temptation³ for your Master. He made you, O Peter, a father to all the world, and you did not act in a brotherly love for a single short hour towards my Son. He imposed His divine hand on your head,⁴ O Peter, and you did not agree⁵ to have a crown of thorns on your head before you had denied Him. Even if you say,

¹ Lit. “he gave grace to your face” which is in harmony with the “slap” that follows.

² The word should be in the dual form.

³ M. 87: “temptation for a short time.”

⁴ In the *Book of the Resurrection of Christ by the Apostle Bartholomew* (in James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 184) it is said that the Father, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, laid His hand on the head of Peter.

⁵ A colloquial word is used here.

O Peter, that my Son is not your Master but only your friend, it did not behove you to deny Him in this way. If you had to endure, O Peter, all the tribulations undergone with us by my father¹ Joseph, you should have been dragged to Herod with my Son.² If you had to bear like him the pains of the journey to the country of Egypt, you might not have been able to endure a single one of them. May the dew of heaven nurture your bones, O my father Joseph, the just man, and may the tree of life nourish³ your soul because you have endured my tribulations with me, and have not denied my Son! O Peter, they have not brought you before the Governor, nor have they placed you before the high tribunal that you denied your Master so quickly."

When the Virgin finished her lamentations over the denial of Peter in the house of John, she sent for John, who came and found her weeping. Then both John and the Virgin wept over the Lord Jesus. Then John said to the Virgin: "O my mother, do not weep over Peter for his denial of my Master, because he has not the same blame attached to him as that which attaches to Judas who betrayed Him. I heard what my Master said at the evening meal and what Peter said to Him, 'Be it far from you, Lord, this shall not be unto you,'⁴ but I will give my life for you. And I heard my Lord and my Master rebuking him three times saying to him, 'Go ye behind me, Satan, you have become an offence to me, for you think not of the things that be of God, but of those things that be of men.'⁵ Now, O my Lady and my mother, do not weep over my father Peter, because his denial will be (the symbol of) repentance to sinners, as he gave the lie to his own words and corroborated the words of his Master."

Then the Virgin gave herself to bitter weeping because she had not seen her Son, and she reverted again to her painful lamentations in the house of John and said: "I adjure you, O John, to show me the way to the *Kranion*. I adjure you, O John, to accompany me to the Golgotha. I have never seen yet a robber being crucified, nor

¹ "Father" denotes here in the Eastern parlance, "a dear old man."

² Lit. "with Him."

³ Read *tukit*.

⁴ Matt. xvi. 22. The sentence was of course not uttered at the last meal.

⁵ Matt. xvi. 23. Christ rebuked Peter only once and not three times as stated in the text.

have I stood near a robber when he was being beheaded.¹ I shall forsake my town and my great freedom, and shall go bare-footed to the place in which my beloved Son has been crucified like common robbers, because He is alone and not one of His brethren is standing near Him, and there is not here with you any of your friends who would say anything about you. O my child, the sorrow of a mother for her beloved son is something, and the sorrow of a friend for his friend is another thing; the pain of the heart of a mother weeping over her beloved son is something, and the weeping of a friend over his friend is another thing. My sorrow, O my child, is to-day greater than that of all the world, and of all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and my weeping is more bitter than that of all who shall gather² near me."

When John noticed that she was not able to cease her weeping and wailing and that he on his part was unable to comfort her, because she was saying: "If I do not see Him I cannot be comforted," he said to her: "Get up, and I will accompany you to the *Kranion*, so that you may see Him." The Virgin, therefore, went out of the house of John and walked in the streets of Jerusalem. People who saw the Virgin walking said to one another: "From where is this wailing woman?" And the people of the bazaars said: "We have never seen this woman buying anything from this bazaar." Some others said "This is a foreign woman and she walks in this street as if she did not know it." The people, however, who recognised in John the disciple of the Lord Jesus, said: "This may perhaps be His mother going to see Him on the cross." Some people said: "This is the wife of Joseph," and some others said: "The news of His conception was brought to her." Finally, some people said: "Look at her, how³ beautiful is her face and her weeping," and yet some others said: "We have not seen another one in this town like her, and her face resembles that of her Son." In short, every one in the market was saying something about her and how noticeable was her appearance in the streets of the town. And Salome was walking behind her, while some other women covered her with her veil, but she was not observing anything but only listening to the sorrow of her heart.

¹ The text uses here *ra's* "head" in feminine under the influence of κεφαλή. See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 249.

² Codd. "who are gathered."

³ Read *ma*.

When she reached the Golgotha, she noticed a great throng of people in groups of different tribes and clans looking at (her Son) on the Cross. People of various nationalities,¹ from all districts had assembled in Jerusalem in that holy month for the immolation of the lamb: Amgazites,² Balakites,³ Moabites, Kabarites,⁴ and Ishmaelites. All these were pressing in groups against one another for the great and wonderful sight. Some people were saying: "They condemned this one to-day with injustice," and some others were saying: "They have emptied their wrath on Him." Some were saying: "They were seeking the death of this one for many years," and some others were saying: "They have killed a brave man to-day." Some were saying: "If there was justice in this town, they would never have been able to kill this one," and yet some others were saying: "This is the one for whom the Emperor sent in order to make Him a King over all Judæa,⁵ and that is why Herod ordered His death." Some people cursed Herod because of Him, saying: "The one who took his brother's wife while he was still alive and rendered him a poor and a wretched man, has also killed this one without pity."

As to the Virgin she inclined her face towards the earth on account of her weeping and humility, and she was not able to see her Son quickly because of her painful weeping and the thronging of the great multitudes of people. She said, therefore, to John: "Where is my beloved Son so that I may see Him; the pressing of these numerous

¹ Lit. "many languages." The construction of the sentence with the word *lughat* is here strange and denotes a Greek or a Coptic original.

² M. 127: *Magazites*. I cannot identify this people without textual emendations. Can it be a copyist's error for *Amorites*? The graphic difference between *Amgazites* and *Amorites* is rather slight in ancient and undotted Arabic characters from which the present Garshūni document appears to me to be derived.

³ Are they descendants of Balak, King of Moab of Num. xxii.-xxiv. etc.? The Moabites come immediately after as a separate people. The author does not seem to be versed in Jewish history.

⁴ I cannot identify this people without textual emendations.

⁵ In the Coptic fragments edited by Revillout (Nos. 2 and 4) in *Pat. Orient.* ii., p. 132 sqq., it is said that the Emperor Tiberius ordered twice that Jesus should be made King. The first occasion was when Carius sent the Apostle John to report to him about Jesus, and the second time was when Jesus was speaking to the Apostles on the mountain. See also Robinson's *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 176, and James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 148. Cf. John vi. 15.

people against one another does not allow me to see Him." And John said to her : " Lift your head towards the western side of these people, and you will see Him extended on the cross." And the Virgin looked towards all those multitudes of people, and she saw Him. She did not cease to wade with John through the multitudes until she came and stood at His right, and looked at Him in His sufferings.

When God saw His mother He looked towards John and said to him : " O man, this is your mother," and then He said to His mother : " O mother, this is your son."¹ And John held the Virgin's hand in order to take her to his house, but the Virgin, his mother, said : " O John, let me weep² over Him, as He has no brother and no sister, and do not deprive me of Him. O my Son, would that I had with you a crown of thorns on my head, and would that I could make it as painful as yours. If the penalty of all the robbers is crucifixion, why have they not stripped you of your garments, O Judas, since you are a thief and stole from the bag ?³ O John, look at my wretchedness to-day in the middle of these multitudes. Look at my lowliness and at the pains of my heart. Let me look at His face to my satisfaction. Let me look at His sufferings to my satisfaction, as I have never seen Him in such a state before, except to-day. Let me weep over Him, because my sufferings are to-day greater than His sufferings. The lying-place of all the paupers is the dung-heap, let me then look at Him to my satisfaction, because I am an orphan without father, without mother, and without relatives."⁴

This is the wailing indulged in by the Virgin while she was at the right side of her Son. She was in a state of confusion owing to the intensity of her pain, and because of the greatness of her sorrow she did not notice the great multitudes that were present. She was only bent on weeping. Now there were present there Joanna,⁵ wife of Chuza, Mary Magdalene and Salome, and these got hold of the Lady (Mary) and lifted her up. Her wailing was truly sweet while

¹ John xix. 26-27.

² M. 87 : " Leave His mother alone, O John, and let her weep."

³ John xii. 6.

⁴ M. 87 : " without a man."

⁵ The author writes this name of Luke viii. 3, and xxiv. 10, as *Yona* or *Yawanna* which is more the Greek *Iwanna* than the Syriac *Yohan*. John xix. 25 and Matt. xxvii. 56, do not mention this Joanna as standing near the cross. From where did the author derive this information ?

she was surrounded by pure women, who were weeping with her because of the sweetness of her words. Other Jewish women who heard her weeping scoffed at her saying : " Our vengeance has come to-day on you and on your Son, because it is through you that our wombs have become childless from the year in which you brought Him forth."¹

The heads of the Jews spoke then with the soldiers of Herod and hardened their hearts to kill (Jesus). They had informed Herod that Pilate with a great number of people loved Jesus, and they had added : " We fear that in going to crucify Him, those people might raise against us and snatch Him from our hands on the advice of Pilate. Give us, therefore, order and power to crucify Him."² And they had given him much money, and he had given them the power required and sent his soldiers to them. This is the reason why Pilate did not go out with him that day ; he feared an armed conflict between him and the Jews. Indeed Pilate and his wife loved (Jesus) like their own soul, and the flogging that he had ordered for Him was done in order to satisfy the wicked Jews, and so to save Him from death. Had he known that they would crucify Him, if he were to die with his wife and his sons, he would not have laid hands on Him at all. The Jews had lied to Pilate saying : " If you only chastise this rebel for us, and if he ceases to heal people on the Sabbath day, we will release Him." It is under this false pretext that Pilate had ordered Him³ to be flagellated.

The above conspiracy took place before the Virgin stood at the right side of Her Son and John wished to take her to his house. She then rose weeping and lamenting and returned to town, saying : " I leave you in peace,⁴ O my child, you and the cross upon which you have been lifted up. I salute⁵ your face full of grace, which they have insulted and at which they have railed. I salute your nudity, O King, who is in the middle of robbers. I salute your royal garment,

¹ From where did the author get this information ?

² That it was Herod and not Pilate who killed the Christ is also the belief of the Ethiopic Church : " He (Paul) is a disciple of Jesus Christ whom Herod the son of Archelaus slew in the days of Pontius Pilate." Budge's *The Contendings of the Apostles*, ii., 556.

³ The Arabic sentence is wrongly constructed as if Pilate himself had flogged Jesus.

⁴ I.e., farewell.

⁵ Lit. I ask.

O my child, which is in the hands of your enemies. I salute you, O my beloved, with the crown of thorns which is overshadowing you."

The Virgin was saying all this while she was being taken weeping to the house of John. There she did not cease to weep, nor did she give slumber to her eyelids,¹ but she kept weeping and wailing. After (John) had placed her in the house he did not neglect to go to the *Kranion* and witness till the end all the sufferings of his Master. When the body² had ceased to function, He gave up the ghost. Then all the town shook from the great earthquake that occurred in the earth and the signs that took place in heaven. When the Virgin noticed that the earth quaked and that darkness spread over all the town, she said: "This is a sign that my Son has died." While she was saying this, lo, John came weeping. And the Virgin said to him: "Is it not true that my Son died³ on the cross?" And he inclined his head and said, "Yes, He died."

How great were the weeping and the lamentations of the Virgin at that hour!⁴ With intense pains of the heart she wept and said: "Woe is me, O my child, because of this dreadful death which you have incurred. I did not find a Governor to inquire into the injustice done to me, nor a judge to gauge the pains of my heart. O Governor, if you had judged with justice according to the law, the Son of the King would not have been killed while hungry and thirsty. O High Priest, if you had judged with justice, Judas would have been worthy of crucifixion⁵ instead of my Son. If you had pondered over your decision, O Governor, you would not have crucified my Son in His nudity.⁶ If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have released a robber from death, and killed the Prince. If you had judged with equity, O Governor, you would not have killed a valiant man while war⁷ is looking you in the face. If you had judged with equity, O High Priest, you would not have uttered insulting words to your Master.

¹ Ps. cxxxii. 4.

² M. 87: "the soul."

³ M. 127: "Did my Son die?"

⁴ In cap. x. of the Recension B of the Greek text of the *Acts of Pilate* long quotations are also given from the lamentations of the Virgin when she was informed by John of the crucifixion of Jesus. Cf. James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 116.

⁵ M. 127, "death."

⁶ M. 127, omits "in His nudity."

⁷ Which war?

"I hear that at a time when people are at war, if it happens that they capture the son of the King, they take great care of him and do not kill him, but send him to his father as an honour, why then, O High Priest, when you asked (my Son) the truth and He told it to you, you hated Him ?¹ You preferred a lie and put your trust on it. You asked for truth, do you not know then that the one who is standing before you is truthful, nay truth and life ?"²

Truly, O Virgin, O holy Mary, you have met with injustice in the town of Jerusalem more than many of your generation, because they attacked the great one who was in it, and delivered Him to the judgment of death.

After all this, the Christ was still hanging on the cross, and many confessed saying : "This man who performed all these deeds is the Son of God."³ All the people who believed wept while He was on the cross. Then Pilate summoned the centurion who was sent by Herod in order to crucify (Jesus), and he ushered him into his house and said to him : "Have you seen, O my brother, what the Jews and Herod did to this just Man, and how they killed Him with such an injustice that all this happened on the earth ? I tell you, O my brother, that all this evil is not by my will but on the advice of Herod. I wished to release Him and save Him from death, but when I noticed that this was against the wish of Herod, I delivered Him to the Jews for crucifixion. See now, what ransom shall we give to God for His Son whom we have killed ?" Then the centurion together with the owner of the spear and Pilate began to weep bitterly saying : "May His blood be on Herod and on the High Priest !"

Then Pilate summoned the High Priests Annas and Caiaphas before the public and said to them : "O haters of bodies⁴ and drinkers of blood unjustly shed, see now what happened as a consequence of the death of Jesus of Nazareth on the cross. May His blood be on you and on your children !" And they struck at their chests and at their faces saying : "May the blood of this erring man be on us and on our children⁵ for a thousand generations !" And

¹ Cf. Matt. xxvi. 63-64.

² John xiv. 16.

³ Cf. Matt. xxvii. 54.

⁴ M. 87, "O people with long robes on their bodies." About all the incidents in the present story see the Coptic fragments which I translated in the *Prefatory Note*.

⁵ Matt. xxvii. 25.

Pilate said, "What ! even now after all the signs that He showed in heaven and earth, you are not awestruck and amazed like all the people ?" And they said : "We are not afraid because we have fulfilled the law."

And Pilate said : "O High Priest, if you have fulfilled the law, why are your clothes rent ? The law says that if a High Priest rends his clothes, he falls from office." And he answered : "I rent my clothes¹ because He blasphemed against the Most High God and against the law." And Pilate said to him : "I order you not to enter the temple² another time like a High Priest but like a rebel. And if anyone tells me that you have gone to the temple I will cut off your head." And the High Priest said to him : "Which Governor among your predecessors has in the preceding time interdicted a High Priest, and has enjoyed a long term of office ?"³ He said this because he was under the jurisdiction of Herod.

And Pilate said to him : "Are not then the signs that have so far occurred sufficient for you, as they are for all the people ?" And the High Priest said to Pilate : "You are a young shoot in this town, and you do not know the meaning and the portent of these signs. This month is Barmudah⁴ and in it the revolution of the sun and the moon takes place. At this time the sorcerers give to the moon the colour of blood and detract the ray of the sun by their spells. They do it in order to exact work from the husbandman⁵ and to prognosticate concerning the fruits, the crops, the wines and the oils." This is what the High Priest lied and said.

Then Pilate rose from his chair and scourged him with a rough whip ; he plucked also the hair of his beard, and tormented him and said : "You wish to bring the wrath⁶ (of God) on the earth on account of your hatred for Jesus." Then the centurion and the soldier said : "You prefer death to life." After having chastised him on the recommendation of Pilate, they sent him to prison on the advice of the centurion, until such time as they would send him to the Emperor.

¹ Matt. xxvi. 65.

² Lit. "to the Holy," which may refer to the "holy city" of Jerusalem

³ M. 127 has for the last sentence : "that you should interdict me."

⁴ Coptic month corresponding with our March to April.

⁵ Lit. "They ask for the works of the servants."

⁶ M. 127 : "that the wrath should come."

After this Pilate conferred with the centurion and said : "Is His body going to hang on the cross ?" And the centurion said to Pilate : "The power is in your hands, O Governor." And Pilate said to him : "Do you wish that we should take Him down from the cross and confide Him to a reliable man for three days, in order that perchance He may rise as He Himself raised many people from the dead ?" When Pilate uttered these words the heads of the Jews shouted suddenly and said : "It is against the law to deliver a dead man to any one. The grave is the resting-place of the dead."

After this Joseph, who is from Arimathea, came to Pilate and asked permission to take down the body of Jesus Christ from the cross. And Pilate was pleased and he ordered it to be given to him ; and the Jews walked behind him with the guards. Joseph, then, took it down from the cross and buried it in conjunction with Nicodemus. The Jews, however, had an argument with him because they did not wish to bring down His body from the cross, but to leave it on the wood like that of all other robbers, because Jesus had made¹ mention of His resurrection. After they had shrouded Him well in perfume, myrrh, and new linen wrappings, which had not been used for another man at all, they laid Him in a new tomb in which no other body had ever been laid, because it was newly made for Joseph himself, the owner of the garden. They then fastened Him well² till the third day.

When the body of Jesus was placed in the sepulchre the Jews went to Pilate and said : "You know that it is the Sabbath ;" and they asked for four witnesses for His tomb, two from the soldiers of Herod, and two from the soldiers of the centurion. They confided the tomb to them and ordered them to guard it till the third day. And the centurion remained in Jerusalem till the third day in order to see the miracle ; and he said : "If Jesus rises from the dead, I shall have no further need of the power of Herod."

After all this John went in haste to the Virgin and said to her : "They have laid my Master in a good new tomb, and have shrouded Him with new wrappings, good perfume, and myrrh of a high quality. And the Virgin enquired : "Who was the one who did this good thing to my beloved Son ?" And he informed her³ that it was Joseph and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs.

¹ Lit. "if he had not made."

² M. 127 : "Placed guards over Him."

³ Read *fa' a 'lamaha*.

And the Virgin did not cease her weeping and wailing, and said :
 "If they have placed my beloved Son under the tree of life, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If they have placed the robe of Solomon over the body of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see His tomb. If they have poured the perfume of Aaron over the body of my Son, I cannot be comforted unless I see His burial-place. If they have laid my Son in the graves of the prophets, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the grave in which my Son is lying is that of Elisha, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. If the place in which they have placed my son is Paradise itself, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him. May the dew of Heaven nurture you, O my father Joseph, and may the firmament nourish you,¹ O Nicodemus, for the little good work you did to my Son on the cross !

"Would that I had been weeping under your cross, O my Son ! Even if I could not find your body, O my beloved, I would have grasped your blood, because although Jacob did not find the blood of Joseph, he wept over the blood of another. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, because I have not seen your body and your blood.² If I had found your blood, O my Child, I would have purified my garment with it, and if I had found your garment, it would have been as a garment of Joseph³ to me. The blood over which Jacob wept was a foreign blood, and that over which I weep is flowing from the side of my Son. If they have not broken your bones, O my Son, as it is written in their law, so that (the malefactors) might be delivered from their pain, they have pushed the spear-head into your divine side.

"No evil deed was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you before they crucified you, and no injustice was left, O my beloved, which they did not do to you. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my reins are bursting inside me. I never saw a physician healing people like you, O my beloved Son, and in spite of that they struck⁴ you. You have been a physician to their diseases which you cured, and in spite of that they nailed you to the wood of the cross. You have been a physician, O my Child,⁵ to their men born blind, and you gave them

¹ About this sentence, cf. *An Apocryphal Jeremiah*, in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 159.

² M. 127 omits all this sentence.

³ Presumably not her husband but the Patriarch.

⁴ There is a slight difference in the meaning of the texts of the two MSS.

⁵ M. 127 : "O my Son."

their sight,¹ and in spite of that the unbelieving Jews did not feel ashamed to insult you. You have been a physician, O my Son, and you drove out their demons from them, and in spite of that they did not honour you but said, 'You drive them out by Beel-Zebul.'² You have been a physician, O my Son, and you cured them from Hæmorrhage, and in spite of that they did not feel ashamed of you, but they pierced you in your side, O my beloved, with a spear-head. I adjure you, O John, to come with me to the tomb of my Son. I implore you, O John, to accompany me to my only Son so that I may pay a visit to His cross.³ I know, O John, that I am putting you to much trouble with the sorrow of my heart, but have patience with me and you will receive much blessing from my beloved Son."⁴

The Virgin uttered these and similar words in her lamentations and said :⁵ "O John, if I do not see His tomb I shall not be comforted in my sorrow." And John used to comfort her saying : "Cease your weeping because they have buried Him with perfume, incense, and new wrappings, near a garden." The Virgin, however, wept, saying : "If the ark of Noah were the place of the burial of my Son, I shall not be comforted unless I see Him and weep over Him." And John said to her : "How can you go while four soldiers from the soldiers of the Governor are lying on the sepulchre?" And the Virgin remained in this weeping and wailing over her Son in the day of His crucifixion, the Sabbath day, to the morning of Sunday.

As to the soldiers whom the Governor had detailed to guard the tomb, the heads of the Jews had entered with them into a conspiracy unknown to the Governor and the Centurion, to the effect that if the erring one were perchance to rise they should inform them of the fact before the Governor. For this and for their not disclosing this conspiracy to Pilate they were promised much money and silver. The Jews held this conspiracy with the soldiers before the latter went to guard the tomb.

When, however (Jesus) rose and many signs took place at His

¹ M. 127 omits this sentence.

² The author does not use the Syriac form *Beel-Zebub* with a *b* at the end.

³ Lit. "So that I may pay Him a visit on the cross." M. 127 omits all this sentence.

⁴ M. 87 omits "from my beloved Son."

⁵ M. 127 omits all this sentence.

resurrection, the soldiers were frightened and terrified, and became like dead men. They entered the town early in the morning and remembering the deceitful words of the Jews they went to them while it was still dark before they went to the Governor and apprised them of the fact that Jesus of Nazareth¹ had risen from the dead as He had predicted. The Jews went then in haste and related to the High Priest the words of the soldiers to the effect that Jesus had risen from the dead ; and they shouted saying : " Woe to the Jews and to their lives, because this day has more evil in it for them than the day in which He was crucified. What shall we do if the Governor and the centurion hear that He rose from the dead. We shall all fall into his hands. But let us see first what really took place." And they went to the tomb while it was still early in the morning, and did not find the body of Jesus in it. Then they tore their garments, gave silver to the four soldiers apart from His garments and said : " Will He appear to everybody ?" In short every one of them (in their confusion) said something.²

As to the Virgin she did not neglect to go to the tomb early on Sunday morning. Mary Magdalene had, however, preceded her to the sepulchre³ and noticed that the stone had been rolled away from it. And the Virgin said : " This is a sign that occurred in the case of my Son, and it perplexes me ; Who rolled away this stone from the door of the sepulchre ?" The Virgin looked then in the four directions of the tomb, and did not find in it the body of her Son, and she sat down and reverted to her wailing and lamentation and said :

" Woe is me, O my beloved Son, who is it that carried your body and added to the sorrow of my heart ? I have not been at all to the tomb of my father nor to that of my mother ; when my father died I was a young girl in the temple. Nor have I ever been to the grave of my father Joseph⁴ who endured so many⁵ troubles with you, O my Son. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Son, in order to inform myself concerning your body, another sorrow has been

¹ M. 127 omits " of Nazareth."

² Lit. " A word."

³ This is against the following document or *Martyrdom of Pilate* which wrongly asserts that it was the Virgin Mary who went first to the sepulchre. See p. 493.

⁴ *I.e.*, Joseph her husband. On the use of the word " father " in this connection see above, p. 435.

⁵ Lit. " all these."

added to my sorrow. This day that I came to your tomb, O my Child, I met with a bitter disappointment, as I did not find your body in it, O my Son.¹ On the Golgotha they did not permit me to satisfy my desire for looking at you to my satisfaction, and to-day they did not allow me to satisfy my desire for looking at your body in the grave to my heart's desire. On the day of your birth, in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, when your star shone, Herod did not glorify you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son, when the sun suffered eclipse, the Jews² did not believe in you.

"On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, your angels surrounded you in order to glorify you, and on the day of your resurrection, O my beloved Son, your brethren forsook you.³ On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, the shepherds came at day-break and worshipped you, and on the day of your death, O my beloved Son, I came to your tomb and did not find your body in it. On the day I brought you forth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the Magi came to you with their offerings, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my Son,⁴ a wicked robber insulted you. The day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my Son, the animals praised it, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, I met with pain and sorrow.⁵ On the day of your birth in Bethlehem, O my beloved Son, Joseph served you, and on the day of your crucifixion, O my beloved, the same Joseph, my father, died.⁶

"Woe is me, O my beloved, there is no sorrow like my sorrow, nor is there any pain like the pain of a mother looking at her son on the wood of the cross. O my Son, I went to the Golgotha and did not see your body on the wood of the cross;⁷ and I came to the door of your tomb asking for you, and you did not answer me. Woe is me, O my beloved Son, my sorrow is twofold to-day, because I did not see your body on the wood so that I might weep over it,⁸ and because I did not find it in the tomb so that I might worship it. I adjure the four soldiers who keep watch over your tomb and your body to

¹ M. 127 omits "O my Son."

² M. 127 omits "the Jews."

³ M. 87 adds: "with anxiety."

⁴ M. 87: "O light of my eyes."

⁵ M. 87: "with pain of the heart."

⁶ The author evidently believes that Joseph died on the day of the crucifixion of Jesus.

⁷ The author refers here to a second visit by the Virgin to the Golgotha.

⁸ M. 87 omits this sentence.

deliver your body if perchance they have removed it through bribery.¹ I implore Joseph and weep before Nicodemus to reassure me concerning your body since they took it on their own responsibility from Pilate and laid it in this tomb. I have never seen Joseph nor do I know Nicodemus, but on account of the intensity of my pain I let my heart go to them."

This is what the Virgin said over the tomb of her Son. She was perplexed in her soul from her fear of the Jews and from the fact that she did not find the body of her Son in the tomb. While she was thinking deeply² a sudden light shone and an exquisite perfume was perceived from the right side of the tomb, as if wafted from an incense tree.³ The Virgin looked towards the direction of the scent and saw the good God standing, clad in a heavenly robe and His face greatly suffused with joy. And He said to her : " O woman, what makes you burst into this affectionate wailing at this empty tomb which contains no body ? " And she replied : " It is my sorrow ; and this sorrow, O my Lord, arises from the fact that I did not find the body of my Son, so that I might weep over it and be somewhat comforted." And Jesus said to her : " If you were not satisfied in weeping and wailing throughout all this length of time, had you found the body of your Son in the tomb you would have never ceased your lamentation." And she replied : " O my lord, if I had found it I would have been somewhat comforted by it."

And he said to her : " O woman, if you had seen your Son dead, you would have had no comfort in looking at His side pierced with a spear, at His hands and feet wounded by the driving of nails in them, and at His body smeared with blood. Now, O woman, comfort yourself, because it was more advantageous for you not to have seen Him dead and wept all the more over Him. What comfort did you derive when you saw Him alive on the cross, and dead with wrappings round Him ? Truly, O woman, you have had much courage in your soul in coming to this place, while it is still dark and while all this great disturbance reigns in the town. The guards went from here and are now conspiring with the Jews in lying terms concerning your Son. Does the tomb, in which the body of your Son was laid

¹ Lit. "by silver."

² M. 127 omits this sentence.

³ M. 127 omits the last sentence.

belong to the Jews ?¹ No, O woman, I know the man called Joseph, and this garden belongs to him."

And the Virgin said to him : "O my lord, you know everything that happened to my Son, and the love which they showed to Him in laying Him in this tomb. I could not bear to stay in the house of John any longer, but I came to enquire after Him. Now, O my lord, since² you are the owner of the garden—and the beauty of your dresses³ and the sweet words with which you have answered me testify to this—if there is pity in your heart for me show it to me now, because I have no other child. Disclose to me His secret and what they did with His body since I did not find it in His tomb. Have the Jews carried it away because of their hatred for the Governor concerning it? And also, O my lord, if it is hidden in your garden and you know who took it there, have pity on me and show me its place so that I may just see it. By your life, O my brother, I have never seen this place except to-day."

And Jesus said to her : "O Mary, you have wept sufficiently. The living one⁴ is the one who is speaking to you ; the one who was crucified is now standing near you ; the one whom you are seeking is the one who is comforting you ; the one for whom you are asking is the one who is clad in this heavenly robe ; the one whose tomb you are wishing to see is the one who smashed the doors of brass.⁵ O Mary, recognise my glory ; lo I am comforting you with the words of life, be not ashamed therefore, nor afraid. Look at my face, O my mother, and you will recognise me. It is I who raised Lazarus in Bethany. It is I Jesus who is resurrection and life. It is I Jesus whose blood flowed on the rock in the *Kranion*. It is I Jesus who is comforting you in your sorrow. It is I Jesus over whom you are weeping, who is now comforting you at the beginning of His resurrection. No one took away my body, O my mother, but I rose according to the will of my Father. You came to-day to the tomb, O my mother, and I took up out of Hades all those who were fettered in it, and saved those who had fallen into sin."

¹ M. 87 omits this sentence.

² Lit. "If."

³ M. 127, "with your glory."

⁴ *al-hayy* seems to be used here as a title. It is one of the old titles of Christ.

⁵ *I.e.* of Hades.

When the Virgin heard this she received strength and comfort¹ and ceased her weeping and anxiety. She lifted up her eyes from the ground, filled her sight from Him, saw Him in the grace of His divinity and said: "You have truly risen, O my Son and my Lord! You have truly risen!"² And she bent over Him and embraced Him. And He said to her: "Enough, O mother, of the joy which I granted you through my resurrection. Look now at the spoliation of Hades, O my mother, and see how glad and joyful its inmates are. I shall present them as an offering to my Father before I take them to Paradise."³

And the Virgin looked round Him and saw the multitudes which He had taken up from Hades, clad in white robes. She was amazed at them, and Jesus said to her: "Go in haste and announce my resurrection from the dead to my brethren. Go in haste, O my mother, leave this place and do not stand at the right side of my tomb, because a company of the Jews will come with Pilate to find out what took place, and see if I⁴ would raise the dead, and give sight to the blind and motion to the lame."

After the Lord Jesus said this to His mother He disappeared from her sight. She then left the tomb with haste and went and told the Apostles and the women that the Lord had risen from the dead,⁵ and they also came to see what had happened. The news spread then in all the town that Jesus of Nazareth rose from the dead as He had said, and that He told His mother: "I will precede you to Jerusalem, you will all see me and I will bless you there."⁶

As to the High Priests and the Jews, they went in the morning to Pilate, the Governor, as if they had heard nothing, and said to him: "O our lord Governor, error has increased and scandals have multiplied

¹ M. 127 omits "and comfort."

² M. 1270 only: "You have truly risen, O my father."

³ On the descent of Christ into Hades see *Gospel of Nicodemus* in James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, pp. 123-140, and many other works of the Fathers.

⁴ M. 127 omits this sentence.

⁵ There is no doubt that present document attributes to the Virgin Mary the incidents attributed by John the Evangelist (xx. 1-19) to Mary Magdalene. The same thing is done by the author of the *Martyrdom of Pilate*. See below, p. 493.

⁶ M. 127 has: "... as He had said to His mother. I will precede you to Galilee." This is of course more in harmony with Matt. xxviii. 7.

to-day at the sepulchre. Summon the soldiers, one by one, so that they may relate His story to us, before any of us goes there." And Pilate said to them "I heard that He rose from the dead. I believe what I saw in a vision that Jesus rose this day from the dead. By the life of the Emperor and by the law of Moses I do not lie when I say that I saw Him last night while I was lying in my bed, and was grieved at the fact that I had laid hands on Him, and thought that perchance He may be the Son of God on account of the signs that appeared in heaven when He died on the cross. I saw Him standing and shining more than the sun. All the town, except the gathering-place of the Jews, shone with His light more than the light of the sun. And He said to me :

'O Pilate, why are you weeping because you ordered Jesus to be flogged? What is written about Him has been fulfilled. Return to me, and I will forgive you. I am Jesus who died on the cross. I am Jesus who rose to-day¹ from the dead. This light which you see to-day is the glory of my resurrection which has enlightened all the world with joy. Look well, O Pilate, and see that this sign which shines on the inhabited earth is more luminous than the light of the sun and is to convince you that I rose from the dead. Hasten to my tomb and you will see the wrappings lying in it guarded by angels. Kiss them and worship them. Fight for my resurrection and you will witness many miracles to-day at the sepulchre : the lame shall walk, the blind shall see, and the dead shall rise by my power.² O Pilate, you will shine in the light of my resurrection, which the Jews will deny.'

When Pilate uttered these words in his house the Jews raised their voices and said : "O our lord, the emir,³ it is not necessary to relate all this to the people, as it is nothing but a dream. The law says, 'At the mouth of two or three witnesses every word is established';⁴ instead of three witnesses, lo there are four who guarded the tomb. If these tell you that He rose, their words are true, and if they do not do so, we shall have nothing to do with dreams."

Then Pilate summoned the four soldiers and said to them : "What

¹ M. 127 omits "to-day."

² M. 87 : "and the dead lo I shall raise by my death."

³ The word *emir* is here the translation of the Coptic word meaning ἡγεμών, *præses*. See *Pat. Orient.* ii., 171.

⁴ Deut. xvii. 6; xix. 15; Matt. xviii. 16.

happened to-day at the sepulchre ?" And they divided curse among themselves and lied and said that He did not rise but was carried away. And Pilate ordered that they should be separated from one another in different places. The first one was then ushered in, and Pilate said to him : "Tell me the truth who carried away the body of Jesus ?" And he answered : "Peter and John." And the Governor ordered him to be removed to a place by himself. Then he summoned the second one and said to him : "I know that you do not speak but the truth, tell me which of the apostles carried away the body of Jesus from the tomb ?" And he answered : "The eleven apostles came with His disciples¹ and carried Him away by stealth." And Pilate ordered that this one also should be removed to a place by himself. He then summoned the third one and said to him : "I value your testimony more than that of all the others, tell me who carried away the body of Jesus from the sepulchre ?" And he answered : "Joseph and Nicodemus."²

Pilate then called the fourth one and said to him : "You are the head of these soldiers and I confided them to you. Disclose to me now all what took place, and how they removed the body of Jesus from the tomb while you were guarding it." And he answered : "O our Lord the emir, we were asleep and we do not know who carried it away. When we woke up we looked for it and found it below the water which is in the garden, and we said that they did this, out of fear."

Then Pilate said to the Jews and to the centurion : "Are these words consistent ? Are they not sustained by lies ?" And he ordered that the soldiers should be kept under guard until he had gone himself to the tomb. Then he arose with the high priests and the heads of the soldiers³ and went to the tomb. They found the wrappings lying in the tomb⁴ without the body.⁵ And Pilate said : "O men who hate their own life, if they had taken away the body would they not have taken the wrappings with it ?" And (the Jews) answered : "See, these wrappings do not belong to Him, but to some one else." And Pilate recalled the words of Jesus to him that

¹ M. 127 omits : "with His disciples."

² M. 87 adds : "And the rest of their relations."

³ M. 87, "and the heads and the soldiers."

⁴ M. 127 omits "in the tomb."

⁵ Lit. "without any man."

great miracles will take place in the sepulchre, and he hastened and entered into it, and took the wrappings, that is to say the pieces of linen with which Jesus was shrouded, wept over them and embraced them with joy.

Then he looked at the centurion who was standing at the entrance of the tomb, and who was with one eye only as his other eye had been put out in a war, and a considerable time had elapsed without him having seen anything with it. Pilate then conceived the idea, through the greatness of his faith, that these wrappings will give light to the centurion's eye and with this thought he presented the wrappings to him and said : "O my brother, do you not perceive the exquisiteness of the odour of these wrappings and see as if they were sprinkled with perfume and incense ?"¹

And the Jews said : "O Pilate, you know that Joseph placed on Him much perfume and incense, and that they shrouded Him with myrrh and sweet spices of aloe, and this sweet scent comes from them." And Pilate said to them : "If they placed perfumes on the wrappings only, why is all this tomb perfumed with musk and sweet spices of high value and exquisite odour ?" And they answered : "The scent that you are smelling is the odour of the flowers of the gardens, wafted by the winds."² And Pilate replied to them : "You have trodden on the path of perdition for yourselves, have walked in it and fallen in a place from which you will have no deliverance for ever." And they said to him : "Nothing is due to you from us, and you had no right to come to the tomb of this man. You are the Governor of the City³ and not of this tomb. Lo, the High Priests and the heads of the Jews are cognisant of the affair, and it does not behove you to fight the Jews for the sake of a dead man."

And Pilate said to the centurion : "O brother, do you not notice the bitterness of the hatred that the Jews have for the Lord Jesus ? We have acted according to their desires and have crucified Him, and all the world was on the brink of ruin and destruction on account of their injustice. They want us now to stumble on their sin and aver that He has not risen from the dead, in order that His wrath

¹ M. 87 omits "and incense."

² M. 127 omits the last sentence.

³ M. 87, "to those who are in need in it; and they have not made you the Governor of this tomb."

may come back on us¹ another time and destroy us completely." Pilate uttered these words to the centurion while holding the wrappings with his hands and embracing them. Then he said: "I believe that the body which has been wrapped in you rose from the dead." And the centurion also had faith like Pilate, and seizing the wrappings he embraced them, and when they touched his face he immediately saw with the blind eye as before, as if Jesus had laid His hand on it as He had done with the man who was born blind.

How great was the spectacle of the multitudes who had also gone to the tomb! They were from all countries, and they had come to Jerusalem for the Passover, and seen (Jesus) on the cross on the day of the crucifixion. When they had heard that Pilate had gone to the sepulchre to see whether Jesus had risen, they also had come with the expectation that He might rise and appear to them like Lazarus. This is the reason why great multitudes had come to the tomb of Jesus in order to see Him. And they beheld the great miracles and how the centurion saw, and were amazed at what (Jesus) had done.

And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother, observe the miracles of Jesus in His tomb apart from the miracles that took place at His death on the cross." And the centurion tore up his clothes in order the better to show his joy and the favour² which he had received, and said: "The power of Jesus has been made manifest. He is truly God and Son of God, and I have believed in Him. My faith has increased from the fact that He being God rose from the dead. I shall not serve a king any more, but solely my God Jesus."³ And he threw away his sword and gave up his military career.⁴ While the wrappings were twisted round his hands he ran to this place and that place and embraced them. And Pilate was greatly amazed and glorified God.

And the Jews said to the centurion: "You are a stranger, and you do not know the deeds done by Jesus through Beel-Zebul."⁵

¹ M. 127, "So that He may send His wrath against us."

² M. 87, "all the grace." ³ M. 127 adds, "Christ."

⁴ M. 87, "and the shield of his military career."

⁵ See my note above and compare the following: "And the Jews said (to Pilate): 'He is a sorcerer and it is in the name of Beelzebub, prince of the demons, that he drives away demons,'" *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i., 1103 and 1106; James' *Apocr. N.T.*, p. 96. This is of course inspired from Matt. xii. 24, Luke xi. 15.

What He did in His life He is now doing at His death." And they added : "When a sorcerer dies, the Genii¹ do other deeds in his grave and they deceive many people through them. These deeds are indeed those of sorcerers and conjurers." And Pilate said to them : "We have never heard that sorcerers and conjurers performed such miracles. Since you are heaping² lies out of your own mind on the life of the Lord, His wrath will come on you." And they said : "We deliver our souls to judgment, may His blood be on³ us and our children for ever and ever." And Pilate said to the centurion : "O my brother, do not exchange cheaply the great gift which you have received for the lie of the hatred of the Jews."

Then Pilate turned to the Jews and said to them : "Where is the dead man who, you said, was Jesus? It is perchance He." And the Jews preceded Pilate and the centurion to the well which was in the garden, and it was a deep well. And I Gamaliel was following with the crowd. And they went down to the bottom of the well, and found in it the dead man shrouded and laid in a separate place. And the Jews shouted : "Here is the Nazarene sorcerer who gave us so much trouble! You say that He rose, and He is at the bottom of the well!" And Pilate ordered them to draw him up, and summoned Joseph and Nicodemus and said to them : "Are these the wrappings with which you shrouded the body of Jesus?" And they answered : "The wrappings which you are holding in your hands are those of Jesus. As to this corpse it is that of the robber who was crucified with Jesus." And the company of the Jews⁴ threw themselves on Joseph and Nicodemus wishing to cast them into the depth of the well because they had spoken the truth. They would have done it were it not for the fact that Pilate and his soldiers shielded them.

¹ This word seems at first sight to denote a post-Islamic author. It must, however, be remembered that the word *jinn* is found in Ethiopic in the sense of "demon," "evil spirit." Further, the word in the mind of the author may have been "demon, evil spirit" and the translator—in case the document is a translation by Cyriacus—may have used an Arabic word that was better understood by his readers.

² Cod. "prophesying."

³ M. 87, "But they delivered their souls to judgment saying: 'May His blood and His death be on them.'"

⁴ M. 127, "All the Jews."

When Pilate noticed their confusion and their cry he beckoned to them to be quiet. He had full confidence in the words spoken to him by the Lord Jesus to the effect that dead men would rise from His tomb. He summoned, therefore, the heads of the Jews and said to them : " We do not believe at all that this is Jesus of Nazareth." And they replied to him : " If you believe it or do not believe it,¹ we do believe it." And he said to them : " It is right then that we should leave him in his tomb like other dead men." And he summoned Joseph and Nicodemus another time and said to them : " Shroud him with these wrappings as before." And the Jews shouted : " We do not accept Joseph, and Nicodemus has² no portion with us,³ because his³ portion is with Jesus." And Pilate said : " I have greater right."⁴

Then they took the wrappings that belonged to the Lord Jesus and shrouded⁵ the body of that dead man with them. And Pilate and his soldiers lifted it and placed it in the tomb in which Jesus lay. And he ordered the people to place the stone at the entrance of the tomb as they had done in the case of Jesus. Then Pilate stretched his hands and prayed at the door of the sepulchre and said thus :—

" I implore you to-day, O Lord Jesus. You are the resurrection and the life, the giver of life to all and to the dead. I believe that you rose again as you appeared to me. Do not judge me, O my Lord, because I am doing this. I have not done it from fear of the Jews, nor to test your resurrection. O my Lord, I have confidence in your words and in the miracles which you have wrought. You are living because you raised many dead men. Now, O my Lord, do not be angry with me because I placed a foreign corpse in the place in which lay your body. I did this to put to shame and confusion those who deny your resurrection. To them belong shame and confusion for ever and ever, and to you are due glory and honour from the mouth of your servant Pilate for ever and for ever and ever."⁶

¹ M. 127 omits " or do not believe it."

² M. 127 : " We do not accept Joseph and Nicodemus because they have no portion with us."

³ M. 127 : " their."

⁴ M. 127 adds : " than they."

⁵ Under the influence of Syriac the text places the pronoun before the noun immediately after the verb, which is contrary to the genius of the Arabic language.

⁶ M. 127 adds : " Amen."

When Pilate recited this prayer with outstretched hands at the tomb, a voice came from the dead man saying : " O my lord Pilate, open to me the door of the tomb in order that I may come out. I was the first to open the door¹ of Paradise. Lift the stone, O my lord Pilate, so that I may come out by the power of my Lord Jesus Christ who rose from the dead."

And Pilate shouted with jubilation on account of the joy and happiness which filled his heart and his soul, to such an extent that the rocks echoed his voice. And he then ordered the people that were standing to lift the stone from the door of the tomb, and immediately the dead man came out walking, and he bowed before Pilate, the Governor. As to the Jews who were present, they were seized with panic, shame, and confusion, and ran away wailing secretly from their fear of the Governor.

And Pilate ordered all the soldiers to pursue the Jews and strike them with the swords which they were holding, and they wounded many of them. Then Pilate turned to the dead man and said to him : " O my son, who raised you in this short time ? It is only in case Jesus was with you that He would have been able to raise you so quickly." And the dead man² said to him : " Did you not see the great light that shone ? The Lord Jesus raised me while you were praying, and spoke to me saying, ' Tell my beloved Pilate to fight for my resurrection because I have decided to appoint him his portion in Paradise³ as I appointed to you. It is imperative that they should condemn him as they have condemned me, before they take off his head.' "

And Pilate said to him : " From where are you,⁴ and who threw you in this well ?" And the robber replied, saying : " I am the robber who has been crucified at His right. I have been deemed worthy of all favours and gifts before my Lord Jesus Christ because of the few comforting words that I uttered while He was on the wood of the cross. I was the first one to rise from the tomb of Jesus, O my lord Pilate, and as you opened to me the door of His sepulchre, so He opened to me the door of Paradise. I recognise this high perfume as it is from the tree of life which my soul is enjoying."

¹ M. 127 omits " door."

² M. 87, " and he."

³ M. 87, " to appoint him his portion from the tree of life."

⁴ M. 127, " From which tribe are you ?"

At that moment I Gamaliel followed the crowd and my fathers Joseph and Nicodemus, because fear did not allow the Apostles to come to the sepulchre and witness what happened to Him. They were hiding in every place from fear of the Jews. I, Gamaliel, walked with the crowds and witnessed all what happened in the tomb of my Lord Jesus,¹ and the great fight that Pilate undertook against the High Priests,² who returned to town with haste, pressing against one another on account of His resurrection from the dead, while Pilate was holding the wrappings on his arms. And the multitudes wished to see those men who had come to town on the occasion of the feast of the Passover from every district and from every tribe.

Then Pilate repaired to the house of the High Priest along with the crowd, and they demolished it and plundered all what he³ had. And Pilate said to the centurion: "O my brother,⁴ you saw with your own eyes and heard (with your own ears) the great number of people who believed in Jesus Christ on account of the resplendent miracles witnessed also by the wicked and accursed Jews, who did not believe."

Let us here end the discourse on the Virgin and her sweet wailing, and on the death and resurrection of her Son from the dead. These (words) have been written by Gamaliel and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and they placed them in Jerusalem, the holy city, and in all the districts that surround it, by the grace and love⁵ of our Lord and God Jesus Christ to whom are due glory, power, and honour⁶ for ever and ever. Amen.

Here ends this great discourse. May God have mercy upon the scribe, the reader, the attentive hearers, and all the believers! Amen. Amen. Amen.

¹ M. 127 omits "of my Lord Jesus."

² M. 127 adds "the accursed."

³ M. 127, "they."

⁴ M. 87 omits "O my brother."

⁵ M. 87, "and the love of men which belongs to."

⁶ M. 87 omits "power and honour."

[illegible]

¹ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ² Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ³ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ⁴ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ⁵ Omits. ⁶ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ⁷ Omits. ⁸ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ⁹ Omits. ¹⁰ Omits. ¹¹ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ¹² Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ¹³ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ¹⁴ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**. ¹⁵ Adds **ܐܠܠܗܐ ܕܡܠܟܐ ܕܡܪܝܚܐ**.

[illegible]

11 ܬܝܥܝܢ. 12 ܬܦܝܢ. 13 ܬܡܝܚܐ. 14 ܬܡܝܚܐ ܬܡܝܚܐ. 15 ܬܡܝܚܐ.
16 ܬܡܝܚܐ ܬܡܝܚܐ. 17 ܬܡܝܚܐ ܬܡܝܚܐ. 18 ܬܡܝܚܐ ܬܡܝܚܐ.

[illegible]

⁴ ၃၀၈၂၁၆၅၇၉၀.

١٤. بعد. ١٥. باسم. ١٦. الفم باسم.

𐎧𐎠𐎡𐎢𐎣𐎤𐎥𐎦𐎧𐎨𐎩𐎪𐎫𐎬𐎭𐎮𐎯𐎰𐎱𐎲𐎳𐎴𐎵𐎶𐎷𐎸𐎹𐎺𐎻𐎼𐎽𐎾𐎿𐏀𐏁𐏂𐏃𐏄𐏅𐏆𐏇𐏈𐏉𐏊𐏋𐏌𐏍𐏎𐏏𐏐𐏑𐏒𐏓𐏔𐏕𐏖𐏗𐏘𐏙𐏚𐏛𐏜𐏝𐏞𐏟𐏠𐏡𐏢𐏣𐏤𐏥𐏦𐏧𐏨𐏩𐏪𐏫𐏬𐏭𐏮𐏯𐏰𐏱𐏲𐏳𐏴𐏵𐏶𐏷𐏸𐏹𐏺𐏻𐏼𐏽𐏾𐏿𐐀𐐁𐐂𐐃𐐄𐐅𐐆𐐇𐐈𐐉𐐊𐐋𐐌𐐍𐐎𐐏𐐐𐐑𐐒𐐓𐐔𐐕𐐖𐐗𐐘𐐙𐐚𐐛𐐜𐐝𐐞𐐟𐐠𐐡𐐢𐐣𐐤𐐥𐐦𐐧𐐨𐐩𐐪𐐫𐐬𐐭𐐮𐐯𐐰𐐱𐐲𐐳𐐴𐐵𐐶𐐷𐐸𐐹𐐺𐐻𐐼𐐽𐐾𐐿𐑀𐑁𐑂𐑃𐑄𐑅𐑆𐑇𐑈𐑉𐑊𐑋𐑌𐑍𐑎𐑏𐑐𐑑𐑒𐑓𐑔𐑕𐑖𐑗𐑘𐑙𐑚𐑛𐑜𐑝𐑞𐑟𐑠𐑡𐑢𐑣𐑤𐑥𐑦𐑧𐑨𐑩𐑪𐑫𐑬𐑭𐑮𐑯𐑰𐑱𐑲𐑳𐑴𐑵𐑶𐑷𐑸𐑹𐑺𐑻𐑼𐑽𐑾𐑿𐒀𐒁𐒂𐒃𐒄𐒅𐒆𐒇𐒈𐒉𐒊𐒋𐒌𐒍𐒎𐒏𐒐𐒑𐒒𐒓𐒔𐒕𐒖𐒗𐒘𐒙𐒚𐒛𐒜𐒝𐒞𐒟𐒠𐒡𐒢𐒣𐒤𐒥𐒦𐒧𐒨𐒩𐒪𐒫𐒬𐒭𐒮𐒯𐒰𐒱𐒲𐒳𐒴𐒵𐒶𐒷𐒸𐒹𐒺𐒻𐒼𐒽𐒾𐒿𐓀𐓁𐓂𐓃𐓄𐓅𐓆𐓇𐓈𐓉𐓊𐓋𐓌𐓍𐓎𐓏𐓐𐓑𐓒𐓓𐓔𐓕𐓖𐓗𐓘𐓙𐓚𐓛𐓜𐓝𐓞𐓟𐓠𐓡𐓢𐓣𐓤𐓥𐓦𐓧𐓨𐓩𐓪𐓫𐓬𐓭𐓮𐓯𐓰𐓱𐓲𐓳𐓴𐓵𐓶𐓷𐓸𐓹𐓺𐓻𐓼𐓽𐓾𐓿𐔀𐔁𐔂𐔃𐔄𐔅𐔆𐔇𐔈𐔉𐔊𐔋𐔌𐔍𐔎𐔏𐔐𐔑𐔒𐔓𐔔𐔕𐔖𐔗𐔘𐔙𐔚𐔛𐔜𐔝𐔞𐔟𐔠𐔡𐔢𐔣𐔤𐔥𐔦𐔧𐔨𐔩𐔪𐔫𐔬𐔭𐔮𐔯𐔰𐔱𐔲𐔳𐔴𐔵𐔶𐔷𐔸𐔹𐔺𐔻𐔼𐔽𐔾𐔿𐕀𐕁𐕂𐕃𐕄𐕅𐕆𐕇𐕈𐕉𐕊𐕋𐕌𐕍𐕎𐕏𐕐𐕑𐕒𐕓𐕔𐕕𐕖𐕗𐕘𐕙𐕚𐕛𐕜𐕝𐕞𐕟𐕠𐕡𐕢𐕣𐕤𐕥𐕦𐕧𐕨𐕩𐕪𐕫𐕬𐕭𐕮𐕯𐕰𐕱𐕲𐕳𐕴𐕵𐕶𐕷𐕸𐕹𐕺𐕻𐕼𐕽𐕾𐕿𐖀𐖁𐖂𐖃𐖄𐖅𐖆𐖇𐖈𐖉𐖊𐖋𐖌𐖍𐖎𐖏𐖐𐖑𐖒𐖓𐖔𐖕𐖖𐖗𐖘𐖙𐖚𐖛𐖜𐖝𐖞𐖟𐖠𐖡𐖢𐖣𐖤𐖥𐖦𐖧𐖨𐖩𐖪𐖫𐖬𐖭𐖮𐖯𐖰𐖱𐖲𐖳𐖴𐖵𐖶𐖷𐖸𐖹𐖺𐖻𐖼𐖽𐖾𐖿𐗀𐗁𐗂𐗃𐗄𐗅𐗆𐗇𐗈𐗉𐗊𐗋𐗌𐗍𐗎𐗏𐗐𐗑𐗒𐗓𐗔𐗕𐗖𐗗𐗘𐗙𐗚𐗛𐗜𐗝𐗞𐗟𐗠𐗡𐗢𐗣𐗤𐗥𐗦𐗧𐗨𐗩𐗪𐗫𐗬𐗭𐗮𐗯𐗰𐗱𐗲𐗳𐗴𐗵𐗶𐗷𐗸𐗹𐗺𐗻𐗼𐗽𐗾𐗿𐘀𐘁𐘂𐘃𐘄𐘅𐘆𐘇𐘈𐘉𐘊𐘋𐘌𐘍𐘎𐘏𐘐𐘑𐘒𐘓𐘔𐘕𐘖𐘗𐘘𐘙𐘚𐘛𐘜𐘝𐘞𐘟𐘠𐘡𐘢𐘣𐘤𐘥𐘦𐘧𐘨𐘩𐘪𐘫𐘬𐘭𐘮𐘯𐘰𐘱𐘲𐘳𐘴𐘵𐘶𐘷𐘸𐘹𐘺𐘻𐘼𐘽𐘾𐘿𐙀𐙁𐙂𐙃𐙄𐙅𐙆𐙇𐙈𐙉𐙊𐙋𐙌𐙍𐙎𐙏𐙐𐙑𐙒𐙓𐙔𐙕𐙖𐙗𐙘𐙙𐙚𐙛𐙜𐙝𐙞𐙟𐙠𐙡𐙢𐙣𐙤𐙥𐙦𐙧𐙨𐙩𐙪𐙫𐙬𐙭𐙮𐙯𐙰𐙱𐙲𐙳𐙴𐙵𐙶𐙷𐙸𐙹𐙺𐙻𐙼𐙽𐙾𐙿𐚀𐚁𐚂𐚃𐚄𐚅𐚆𐚇𐚈𐚉𐚊𐚋𐚌𐚍𐚎𐚏𐚐𐚑𐚒𐚓𐚔𐚕𐚖𐚗𐚘𐚙𐚚𐚛𐚜𐚝𐚞𐚟𐚠𐚡𐚢𐚣𐚤𐚥𐚦𐚧𐚨𐚩𐚪𐚫𐚬𐚭𐚮𐚯𐚰𐚱𐚲𐚳𐚴𐚵𐚶𐚷𐚸𐚹𐚺𐚻𐚼𐚽𐚾𐚿𐛀𐛁𐛂𐛃𐛄𐛅𐛆𐛇𐛈𐛉𐛊𐛋𐛌𐛍𐛎𐛏𐛐𐛑𐛒𐛓𐛔𐛕𐛖𐛗𐛘𐛙𐛚𐛛𐛜𐛝𐛞𐛟𐛠𐛡𐛢𐛣𐛤𐛥𐛦𐛧𐛨𐛩𐛪𐛫𐛬𐛭𐛮𐛯𐛰𐛱𐛲𐛳𐛴𐛵𐛶𐛷𐛸𐛹𐛺𐛻𐛼𐛽𐛾𐛿𐜀𐜁𐜂𐜃𐜄𐜅𐜆𐜇𐜈𐜉𐜊𐜋𐜌𐜍𐜎𐜏𐜐𐜑𐜒𐜓𐜔𐜕𐜖𐜗𐜘𐜙𐜚𐜛𐜜𐜝𐜞𐜟𐜠𐜡𐜢𐜣𐜤𐜥𐜦𐜧𐜨𐜩𐜪𐜫𐜬𐜭𐜮𐜯𐜰𐜱𐜲𐜳𐜴𐜵𐜶𐜷𐜸𐜹𐜺𐜻𐜼𐜽𐜾𐜿𐝀𐝁𐝂𐝃𐝄𐝅𐝆𐝇𐝈𐝉𐝊𐝋𐝌𐝍𐝎𐝏𐝐𐝑𐝒𐝓𐝔𐝕𐝖𐝗𐝘𐝙𐝚𐝛𐝜𐝝𐝞𐝟𐝠𐝡𐝢𐝣𐝤𐝥𐝦𐝧𐝨𐝩𐝪𐝫𐝬𐝭𐝮𐝯𐝰𐝱𐝲𐝳𐝴𐝵𐝶𐝷𐝸𐝹𐝺𐝻𐝼𐝽𐝾𐝿𐞀𐞁𐞂𐞃𐞄𐞅𐞆𐞇𐞈𐞉𐞊𐞋𐞌𐞍𐞎𐞏𐞐𐞑𐞒𐞓𐞔𐞕𐞖𐞗𐞘𐞙𐞚𐞛𐞜

¹ Adds **ሐ**. ² **ሠጢ**. ³ **ሐጢ**. ⁴ Omits. ⁵ Omits. ⁶ **ሐጢ**.
⁷ **ሠጢ**. ⁸ Omits. ⁹ **ሐጢ**. ¹⁰ **ሐጢ**. ¹¹ **ሐጢ**.

[illegible]

13 சூ.

מהאזי שיהיה עם כלל ביהמ"ש ויחזק חלקו הכללי
 מכלל עד: כשהוא מביט מאלו לזו [לזלל בלתי נאמן] כלל
 האלה עם אלה שיהיה עם. וכלל מביט מאלו לזו
 מביט לזו הכלל אחד זה עם האלה. כלל מביט מאלו לזו
 בזה שיהיה [אביהם] השם בזה מביט מאלו לזו [אביהם]
 [אבי מביט מזה] כלל האלה. כלל מביט מזה לזו
 שיהיה מכלל מביט מאלו לזו שיהיה מביט מזה לזו
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8 Adds 001. 9 ኦቲ ለፈፈ.

[illegible]

1. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 2. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 3. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 4. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 5. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 6. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 7. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 8. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 9. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה
 10. לְאִשָּׁה אֶחָד הָיָה מִצֵּד הָאֵלֶּיךָ מִן הַלֵּב אֶל הָאִשָּׁה

¹ الكرم. ² Omits. ³ ده. ⁴ اخلاص. ⁵ صمد.

Omits. גזער ס'זי. בא אבן.⁹ בלעב בעלמס חט.⁸
אבן.¹⁰

[illegible]

6. ⁶ Adds. ⁷ Adds. ⁸ Omits. ⁹ Adds. ¹⁰ Omits.

15 [משה] ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר באו מצרים
 ראובן שמעון לוי יהודה
 16 [15] ואלה שמות בני ישראל אשר באו מצרים
 ראובן שמעון לוי יהודה

ص. Adds ¹⁶. الخ. ¹⁵. هـ الخ. ¹⁴. الص. ¹³. اذها.

[illegible]

¹ ۛۛۛۛ ۛۛۛۛ ۛۛۛۛۛۛۛ. ² ۛۛۛۛۛ. ³ Omits. ⁴ Adds

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הַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְחַמְדָּתָם וְלִפְנֵי הַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 הַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ לְחַמְדָּתָם [חַמְדָּתָם אֱלֹהֵינוּ] ¹ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ² [וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים] . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ³ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ⁴ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ⁵ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ⁶ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
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וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ¹¹ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ¹² . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ¹³ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ¹⁴ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ¹⁵ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ¹⁶ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ
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 מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ¹⁹ . וְהַלְלוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים ²⁰ .

¹ Adds. ² Omits. ³ Omits. ⁴ Omits. ⁵ Omits. ⁶ Adds. ⁷ Adds. ⁸ Adds. ⁹ Adds. ¹⁰ Adds. ¹¹ Adds. ¹² Adds. ¹³ Adds. ¹⁴ Adds. ¹⁵ Adds. ¹⁶ Adds. ¹⁷ Adds. ¹⁸ Adds. ¹⁹ Adds. ²⁰ Adds.

[illegible]

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12.

[illegible]

¹ Omits. ² Adds **مما صلواته مما في الكتاب الم ح**.

³ Omits. ⁴ صح. ⁵ مبر. ⁶ مالحه. ⁷ ت ت. ⁸ Omits.

• كسب. ¹⁰ كسب. ¹¹ Adds هـ. ¹² Omits. ¹³ Omits. ¹⁴ Omits.

15 Omits.

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13 Omits. 12 **مَنْ مَحْزُونٌ**. 11 **مَحْزُونٌ**.

II. *Martyrdom of Pilate.*

PREFATORY NOTE.

I give in the following pages the text and the translation (accompanied by a critical apparatus) of an apocryphal document entitled *Martyrdom of Pilate*. Like the previous document it is attributed to Cyriacus, bishop of Oxyrhynchus, but the real author of all its historical narrative is, as we learn from the beginning and the end of the story and from some passages found in the middle of it, Gamaliel himself. We may, therefore, consider it as a second Gamaliel apocryphon.

I have edited the text from three independent MSS. Two of them belong to my own collection of MSS. and are numbered Mingana Syr. 127 and Mingana Syr. 355 (hereafter M. 127 and M. 355). The third MS. is Paris Arab. 152¹ (hereafter P.). M. 127 and M. 355 are written in Garshūni (Arabic in Syriac characters) and P. is in Arabic characters.² From notes that I have ventured to write at the foot of the following pages, it will be seen that I believe that M. 355 is transcribed from a MS. which was in Arabic characters. The same conclusion may to some extent be reached with regard to M. 127.

I have placed the text of M. 127 in the body of the page and the variants of M. 355 and P. in the footnotes. I have transcribed each MS. in the characters in which it was found, *viz.* M. 127 and M. 355 in Garshūni, and P. in Arabic. I have given almost all the variants of M. 355, but in order not to render the text of the notes very bulky I have noted only the most important variants of P. In the final section, however, which deals with the Apostle John and his voyage to Rome—a section which is completely missing in M. 127—I registered also nearly all the variants of P. As there were only two MSS. to be dealt with, the footnotes did not appear to me to be abnormally bulky by the adoption of such a method.

¹P. 35 in Baron de Slane's *Catalogue des manuscrits arabes*. In the "ancient fonds" the number of the MS. was 160.

²About *Cod. Vat. Syr.* 199, see below.

I have also read *Cod. Vat. Syr.* 199 which is in Garshūni like my own MSS. I noticed that it follows generally either M. 127 or M. 355, and that only occasionally it agrees with P.¹

I adopted also the above method for another and a more cogent reason. The variant readings exhibited by the three MSS. are so numerous, so varied in character and so important that I have come to the conclusion that they represent three more or less different recensions of the story, and that P. was executed with an eye on the interest of Egyptian Christians. Now to condense in a single narrative the text of three different recensions of a story is almost an impossibility. The problem could have been better solved if I had edited separately the text of all M. 127, all M. 355, and all P. as I did in the case of the *Apocryphal Jeremiah*² but the story did not appear to me to be of such importance as to justify this course.

M. 127 is dated 1994 of the Greeks (A.D. 1683), and it is the same MS. as that which contains the above documents dealing with the Virgin Mary and the death and resurrection of Christ or the *Lament of the Virgin* as I have called it. M. 355 has no date, but may be ascribed to about A.D. 1800. P. is assigned by Baron de Slane to the 16th Christian century, which is probable, with the sole reservation that I am tempted to place it towards the end rather than the beginning or the middle of the 16th century.

In the translation I only registered in the footnotes the most important variants which seemed to me likely to throw light on the sources of the author. Further, I did not attempt to correct the numerous lexicographical and grammatical mistakes found in the text of the three MSS. for reasons given in the preface of the previous document.

The document appears to me to be, like its predecessors, exclusively

¹ The photographs of the pages of the MS. were kindly communicated by Mr. Crum, but they came to me too late to be utilised for the text. To give the reader a fairly accurate idea of the peculiarities of the MS. I placed at the end of the edition the important variants of the first half of the story, but I have done this only in cases in which V. 199—as we may call the MS.—differs from the other three MSS. which I have utilised for my edition. It will be useful here to remark that V. 199 contains (against M. 127) the final part of the story which deals with the Apostle John and his voyage to Rome.

² *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., pp. 148-233.

Coptic in origin. Among the Christian Churches of the East it is only the Coptic Church that considers Pilate as a saint and holds a feast in his honour. The Syrian Churches while not so hostile to Pilate as the Western Churches, do not certainly go so far as to make a saint of him, in spite of the fact that a West Syrian Patriarch bore the name *Pilate*.¹

That the document falls within the circle of the *Acta Pilati* and the *Ἀναφορὰ Πιλάτου* goes without saying.² The *Anaphora* seems to presuppose the *Acta*, itself later than the *παράδοσις Πιλάτου* which relates, like the present document, that the Emperor summoned Pilate to Rome to answer for the crucifixion of Jesus, and there condemned him to death. In my opinion all these Greek documents emanate also from Egypt, and Egypt alone. They have nothing to do with Syria and Palestine, and have very little in common with the Churches of the West.

The reader will doubtless notice from my foot-notes that I have compared the present document with the Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic apocrypha so ably edited and translated by Budge, and also with some other parallel documents.

TRANSLATION.

In the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, we will begin with the help and assistance of God to write the history³ of Pilate, the Governor of the City of Jerusalem.⁴ May his prayers be with the children of baptism. Amen.

¹ Assemani, *Bibl. Orient.*, ii. 325. The tradition of the Ethiopic Church is to the effect that Pilate reported Longinus (one of the soldiers who had crucified Jesus) to Tiberius, who had him brought and tortured. See *Book of the Saints of the Ethiopian Church* (edit. Budge), iv. 1146.

² The two redactions of these two documents are edited by Tischendorf in his *Evang. Apocr.*, p. 433 sqq. (2nd edit.). All these Greek documents are either analysed or translated in M. R. James' useful and handy work: *The Apocryphal New Testament*.

³ P. calls the story: "Martyrdom of Pilate" immediately after the doxology.

⁴ P. and M. 127 often write the word Jerusalem with a *yodh* at the beginning in the Hebrew way instead of an *Alaph* according to the Arabic and Syriac mode of writing. This tends to prove their Egyptian origin. See my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 153.

A treatise composed by the holy Cyriacus,¹ bishop of the town of Bahnasa,² on the resurrection of our Lord from the dead, and on the tribulations undergone by Pontius³ Pilate in the holy city, at the time of the crucifixion. In it he makes mention also of Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus, the venerable chiefs, and of the persecution suffered by Pilate at the hand of the Jews for the name of Christ—to whom be glory and worship—and of the torments inflicted on him by Herod before he was sent by the latter to the Metropolis, the great city of Rome, where his head was cut off and his martyrdom completed.⁴ The story is told as found in the copy written by Gamaliel and Horus,⁵ the good, pious, and respectable teachers in all things dealing with God. They wrote it, because they were present with Joseph and Nicodemus and witnessed the ordeals of Christ which became the source of our life, and His glorious resurrection. They related that they wrote this martyrdom⁶ after the prodigies and miracles that took place in the tomb of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, consequent upon His resurrection from the dead, and at the end of the machinations and intrigues of the wicked Jews. May the peace of God be with us. Amen.

When our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified in the place called *Kranion*,⁷ which being interpreted means a row of stones—and it is

¹ P. has *Hyriacus* or *Horiacus* and so also M. 355 prima manu. See about him in my note above, p. 430, About the child Horus or Harpokrates see Budge's *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 184.

² See the previous document, p. 430.

³ An unusually bad error has been committed by Baron de Slane in his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Arabes* (de la Bibliothèque Nationale), p. 35. Having read the word *Bunti* as *Nabaṭi* (in Arabic characters the simple transposition of the dot of *nūn* and *bā'*), he translated the sentence as "*Pilate le Nabatéen*" instead of "*Pontius Pilate*."

⁴ M. 127 has "where Andrew Pilate."

⁵ P. gives the name as *Anaius* (Anāyos). This Anaius appears to me to be the man called Aeneas in the Coptic fragments of the Gospel of Nicodemus (James' *Apocryphal N.T.*, p. 95), where he states that he was the "Protector of prætorian rank, learned in the law" and avers that he translated from Hebrew into Greek, in the time of the Emperor Theodosius, the memorials concerning Jesus, which were deposited with Pontius Pilate. See Aeneas' own preface to the Coptic *Acta Pilati* in *Pat. Orient.*, ix., p. 65 sqq.

⁶ Or "this confession."

⁷ *Al-akrānion* (Calvary). Here as in the preceding treatise, the author is transliterating the Greek *κράνιον*.

the Golgotha¹—the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus got possession of His body and placed it in a new tomb. The Virgin Mary began then to weep and to show a keen desire to go to the tomb of her Son, but she could not do so from fear of the Jews, because it was the Sabbath Day, which follows Friday, and in it no one was allowed to proceed anywhere or to undertake any work. When the morning of Sunday arrived Mary took with her other women² who carried with them sweet spices and perfumes with which to anoint the tomb of the Saviour. And Mary³ preceded the other women who followed her to the sepulchre early in the morning.

When she⁴ reached the sepulchre she found the stone rolled away from it, and while in a state of amazement, she looked into the place in which lay the body of Jesus, but did not find it; she found, however, the linen clothes lying there, and the napkin that was over the head separated from the linen clothes and wrapped together in a place by itself. She saw also two angels in white sitting, the one at the head and the other at the feet.⁵

While she was weeping she turned herself back and saw the Saviour standing, and He said to her: "Woman, why are you weeping?" She, supposing Him to be the gardener answered Him saying: "Sir, if you have borne Him hence tell me where you have laid Him, and I will go and take Him away. And the Saviour said to her: "O Mary." And she answered and said "Rabboni"—which is to say My Master. "You rose, O my Son and my God, and your resurrection is magnificent, because you rose and granted salvation to the human kind, but O my Son and my God, I am

¹ The author has used the Greek and the Semitic form of the Calvary. I can find no probable support for his interpretation "Row of Stones."

² M. 355 and M. 127 mention here their names which are Mary Magdalene and Salome.

³ M. 355 adds here "Magdalene" which seems to contradict the trend of the narrative of the story. There is no doubt that the document, against John xxi. 18, believes that it was the Virgin Mary and not Mary Magdalene that went first to the sepulchre. This error is also committed by the author of the so-called *Gospel of the Twelve Apostles* (*Pat. Orient.*, ii., p. 130).

⁴ M. 127 uses here the plural form: They reached, they found.

⁵ Cf. John xx. 7. M. 127 and partly M. 355 add here: "And the angels said to her, 'What ails thee and why seekest thou the living among the dead?' (Luke xxiv. 5).

amazed at your having allowed¹ these wicked people to inflict on you all these sufferings." And the Saviour said to her, "I have already told you all this before it happened."

And when His mother heard what He said to her and ascertained that it was He, she rejoiced and wished ardently to go near Him and worship Him. She was indeed so overjoyed that she thought she was dreaming. But He said to her: "Do not come near Me, because I have not gone yet to My Father. This is the reason why no corporeal being is able to approach Me and touch Me. Go you rather to My brethren and announce to them this joy which you have witnessed, and tell them to go to Galilee where they shall see Me."² Lo, I have told you." Then the Virgin Mary began to ask the Saviour, her Son, concerning the events that took place at the hands of the wicked Jews on the day of the Crucifixion, when He was hanging on the wood of the Cross and she was standing near Him and weeping, and He explained to her all the events that she had witnessed, one by one.

She said to Him: "O my beloved Son, O Life of my spirit and Master of my soul and body, why did you cry and say on the wood of the Cross, 'Eloi, Eloi, why hast thou forsaken me!'"³ And also, 'Scripture is fulfilled,' and also 'Father, into Thy hands I commend my spirit.'"⁴ And He answered and said to her: "O my beloved mother, I cried to the Father with a sigh, like an only Son to His Father, and asked Him to allow Me to die,⁵ in order to redeem with My death the death of Adam whom sin had killed and whom the sentence of death had cast into Hades. Yes, O mother, I cried to the Father and implored Him to look upon My humiliation and have pity on Adam and grant him another grace. And when I remembered his hunger and thirst I said, 'I thirst,'⁶ and asked the Father on his behalf to quench his thirst from the water of the eternal life. When my side was pierced with a spear,⁷ and I drank the cup⁸ which all men are bound to drink, I asked the Father that on the day of my rising from the dead I might raise Adam from the death of sin, since I was pierced in my side because of him.

¹ I follow here P. There are in these sentences profound discrepancies between the three MSS.

² Cf. Matt. xxviii. 7; Mark xvi. 7.

³ Matt. xxvii. 46; Mark xv. 33.

⁵ I follow P. and M. 127.

⁷ John xix. 34.

⁴ Luke xxiii. 46.

⁶ John xix. 28.

⁸ Cf. Matt. xxvi. 39.

"O my mother, the hierarchies of Heaven scoffed at Adam and complained about him to the Father saying, 'All this happened to your only Son because of an earthly man on whom you breathed the breath of life.' The Father, however, rebuked them and said 'This is the creation of my hand and I love Him more than you.' Hades complained¹ about him to Me and said, 'Let me cast him into the bottom of the pit,' but I rebuked it and said 'Shut up your mouth, you will no more rise and seize Adam and cast him into the depths. He does not deserve now to be with you for one single hour. I came now to break up and smash your doors and throw you to the lowest depths, and to raise Adam to the heights.'

"The tormenting angels of Hell whose habit is to turn towards the west began then to vociferate and kindled fires which they inflamed with pitch and sulphur and shouted concerning the sin of Adam and said: 'Let us destroy him and throw him to the great sufferings of the fire of Hell.' Further, when they heard my conversation with him at the time I was lifted on the wood of the Cross and my saying to him: 'O Adam, it is for your sake that all this has happened to me' they cried and said, 'Deliver him into our hands, sir, and we will do to him what he rightly deserves, and we will destroy him as if he had never existed.' I rebuked them, however, and sternly reproved them, and I disclosed to them the fact that I have shed My precious blood for him so that I might save him and give him a share in My Kingdom.

"O my mother, I remembered the sadness and sorrowfulness that fell to the lot of Paradise. I recalled, O my mother, the mournfulness of Paradise and the fact that it was empty from the time in which Adam was driven out of it. Through My Passion and My Crucifixion I meant to restore Adam to Paradise. Did you not know, then, O my mother, why I remained nine months in your womb, and do you not understand the cause of my coming into this world? Did you not know that the events about which the ancient prophets have prophesied had to take place? Did you not realise that all this had to happen and that I had to deliver the rest of the captives from the hands of the enemy, and bring them out of the prison of Hades?

¹The future tense is generally used in the following sentences in M. 127 and M. 355. For some of the above details cf. the *Coptic Book of the Resurrection* by the Apostle Bartholomew in Budge's *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 197 and *passim*.

"I suffered all what I did suffer in order to elevate the elect to the heights of Heaven. I interceded with the Father on their behalf, not only by words but by the shedding of My blood on the Cross before you,¹ in order to deliver them and Adam their father from the evil consequences of his transgression. I do not hold him, therefore, responsible for the blasphemies uttered against Me for his sins, nor answerable for My thirst, for the crown of thorns which was placed on my head, for the hanging of my body on the wood of the Cross, and for the death which I accepted for him. On the contrary I asked the Father to forgive him all his sins. Have patience, O my mother, and I will ask the Father to tear up the written document of the slavery of Adam. O my mother, what would be the utility of this shedding of My blood on the earth if I did not raise this body to Heaven? In this day the heavenly beings will be reconciled with the terrestrial ones. Go now, in joy, O my mother, because I rose from the dead. I have demolished the wall of partitions² of Hades, and I have opened the door of Paradise for the thief at My right. I have also opened the door of Heaven before the angels³ and they flapped their wings, the archangels girded their loins with their shining and majestic girdles, the heavenly powers danced with hymns and canticles, the Cherubim⁴ and Seraphim began their glorifications, the Dominions desired to contemplate intensely the glory of My divinity, and the Thrones stood before the Throne."⁵

This is what the Saviour told His mother near the door of the tomb by way of consolation. He further said to her: "No corporeal man can touch Me because I am clad in an imperishable garment and immortal robe, till the time in which I shall ascend to My Father." When He uttered these words He disappeared from her sight and recommended her to tell His disciples to go to Galilee where they would see Him. When the women returned and narrated to the disciples the words which they had heard from the Saviour, they did not believe them, but fear did not allow them to show themselves to anyone until they repaired to Galilee.

¹ I follow P. in this sentence.

² Cf. Ephes. ii. 14.

³ P., "The doors of heaven are to-day open before me."

⁴ P. writes the word with a *shin* instead of a *Kāf*. See my remark in the *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 188.

⁵ There are some discrepancies here between the MSS. and some verbs are in the aorist tense.

When Pilate noticed all the miracles and prodigies that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour, he went to his house and prepared a great banquet for the poor and the needy on account of the joy that he experienced at the resurrection of the Saviour ; this was even more so in the case of Procula,¹ his wife, because she loved the Saviour intensely on account of what she had seen in her dream concerning Him. She had already made preparations to go and see the tomb in which the Saviour was placed in order to worship Him and know the precise spot in which His body was laid. A company of Jews, however, became cognisant of her plan and went and apprised their chiefs and told them that the wife of Pilate was in that very night proceeding to the tomb. These wicked people circulated the news among themselves, and after a conference, decided to lie in wait for her in order to seize her and kill Pilate.

They, therefore, summoned Barnābān,² the robber, and said to him : " We do not need to remind you of all the benefactions which we have showered on you. We set you free and delivered you from prison against the wish of the Governor, and we crucified Jesus of Nazareth in your place. We want you now to accompany us to-night to the tomb of Jesus and to do your best for us. It has come to our knowledge that that wicked foreigner, called Pilate, wishes to go with his wife and his children to the tomb of Jesus in order to worship Him. We will lie in wait for them and you will help us to kill them, destroy Pilate and plunder their possessions."

The affair appealed to Barnābān and pleased him exceedingly. He desired to possess something as he had come out of prison a pauper and a mendicant. When he heard, therefore, of possessions to plunder he was glad because he loved gold and silver. He was the brother of the wife of Judas who is from the wicked and perverse stock.³ The

¹ Procula or Procla (in the text *Abrukala*) is also the name of the wife of Pilate in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i., 1105. See James' *Apocr. New Testament*, p. 155. That she became a Christian is a tradition confirmed by an author as early as Origen (*Hom. on Mt.*, 35). She is considered a saint in the Greek Church where she has a feast on October 27th. Some writers have even identified her with Claudia of 2 Tim. iv. 21. This, however, is a pure fiction.

² There seems to be no doubt that this *Barnābān* is the robber *Barabbas* of Matt. xvii. 17-26, etc., who has been preferred to Christ.

³ Does he mean the stock of Herod or that of the Jews?

wife of Barnābān, the sister of Judas, used to urge her husband to ask his Master¹ to intervene and deliver her brother from prison. Judas asked this several times of the Saviour, who, however, did not pay any heed to his saying and neglected it, because He was aware of what the man was going to be. When the sister noticed that He did not speak on behalf of her brother, she forsook Him completely. This was also on account of what her husband used to steal from the bag.² She began then to pay visits to the wives of the priests and incite them to crucify the Saviour.

After this the wicked company of the Jews resolved to kill Pilate with his wife and his children and to plunder his possessions. When I Gamaliel learned the conspiracy of these wicked people I did not neglect the matter, but I hastened to Joseph of Arimathæa, who had shrouded the body of the Saviour, and I disclosed to him the conspiracy of the Jews and their evil plot. When he heard it he hastened to the court and informed Pilate, the Governor, of what the Jews had plotted and were about to do to him. Whereupon Pilate summoned a company of his troops and revealed to them what had taken place; and he informed also the sentinels of the town and told them to be on their guard.

Then the God-loving Procula, wife of Pilate, arose in the night, took with her her maid-servants, her ladies-in-waiting and a number of private attendants³ and proceeded to the tomb of the Saviour. She worshipped in the tomb and spread on it and also on the wood of the holy Cross perfumes of high value and sweet spices of exquisite scent. She then lit up many lamps in the tomb and burned much incense therein. While they were standing near the tomb the servants of the Jewish priests and a band of men and officers⁴ with attendants, and a great company from the party of the elders arose and proceeded with the robber Barnābān to the tomb of the Saviour and to the spot where the womenfolk of Pilate were praying. Then the soldiers of Pilate sprang on them with swords, spears and stones, put them to the sword,⁵ seized the robber Barnābān, bound him with fetters and brought him to Pilate.

¹ *I.e.* the Christ.

² *Cf.* John xiii. 29. P. and M. 355: "On account of the revenue that accrued to her from the thefts of her husband."

³ M. 355 says only: "Her maid-servants."

⁴ *Cf.* John xviii. 3.

⁵ P. omits this sentence.

When Pilate saw him he asked him: "Are you the robber Barnābān whom I released from prison, and instead of whose blood we shed innocent blood? That innocent blood which we have unjustly shed will not fail to wreak vengeance on the one who acted towards him in an iniquitous way. To-day will redound on you all the evil, theft, robbery by violence, and homicide which you have perpetrated in this town, the inhabitants of which chose to release you and ransom you with the blood of Jesus. Now, O wretched and miserable one, God will show His justice towards you to-day. O robber, the shedding of the blood of Jesus with which they ransomed your own blood will not be slow in avenging itself on you." Then Pilate ordered that they should take Barnābān to the place where the Saviour was crucified, that they should crucify him there head downwards, that they should pierce him with a spear before he expired, that they should break the bones of his legs in order that he may die quickly, on account of all the untruthfulness told by his people. The soldiers of Pilate took him, did with him what Pilate had ordered, and killed him,¹ five days² after the resurrection of the Saviour.

When this took place the Jewish people became incensed against Pilate and began to say to one another: "Comrades, Barnābān³ has gone from us and Pilate is left. Come, let us write a report about Pilate from King Herod to the Emperor Tiberius Cæsar, and ask him to kill him for us; we will give three talents⁴ of gold to Herod in order that he may help us to murder him." Many Jews, then, men and women, tore up their clothings, threw ashes on their heads, and repaired to King Herod in Galilee. They began to vociferate, and their clamour reached such a pitch that the town was in a state of commotion. They shouted and said: "How is it that we have no king to-day except Pilate the foreigner, who is from the land of Egypt?"⁵ And they clamoured and said: "He has thwarted and

¹ M. 127 adds here: "And he went to hell, and an evil journey it is." This last sentence is from *Qur*, ii., 120, etc.

² M. 355 "five months."

³ P. has "Jesus," which seems to be a better text.

⁴ A *Ḳinṭār* in terms of gold generally weighs a hundred *raṭls* and is worth one thousand *dinārs* (denarii).

⁵ I have not come across a good authority for this statement apart from the Coptic fragments referred to in my note below, p. 502. Crum adds in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* (1927, p. 23), that the Ethiopic translation has

despised the injunctions of the King, changed our habits and customs, and destroyed the laws of our fathers in conjunction with Joseph and Nicodemus. How is it that all power has gone from Herod? We ask your Majesty as our King, to deliver us from him.¹ He has killed Barnābān whom you had ordered to be released from prison on account of his courage and valour in his fight for the King and in his endeavour to defeat the King's enemies. He did all this without consulting the King and on the advice of Joseph and Nicodemus. Now you are competent to judge between us and him and to write and inform the Emperor Cæsar of his affair and of all that he did to us for the sake of Jesus of Nazareth."

Herod became then incensed against Pilate and wrote about him many lying things which he sent to Tiberius Cæsar, and despatched with his report men of high standing among the Jews in order to render his report more effective. It happened that the letters of Herod preceded those of Pilate by one day. The Jews read them to the Emperor with all the slanders and iniquitous testimonies which they contained, and asked him to kill Pilate and his confederates. In the morning the letters of Pilate reached the Emperor,² and in them was an account of all the deeds of Jesus, His crucifixion, His death, His resurrection from the dead, the quaking of the earth, the eclipse of the sun, and the destruction of the idols and their falling from their thrones on the day of His crucifixion.

When the Emperor Tiberius read and heard what the Jews had done to the Saviour at His crucifixion, he wept on account of the deep sorrow that he felt; and when he reached the place in which were the names of the heads of the Jews who were the cause of the crucifixion of Jesus, he found that some of them were among those who had come to him in order to vent their grievances about Pilate. He,

Pilatos Mašarī (B.M. 690, fol. 99^a), "Pilate the Magician," which would simply be a mistranscription of the Arabic *masrī* "the Egyptian." The Melchite Eutychius (in *C.S.C.O.*, i., 91) contends that Pilate was of Italian origin, from an island named *Pontah* and situated near Rome.

¹ This sentence is found in P. only.

² That Pilate wrote a report to Tiberius concerning Jesus is suggested by Justin (I *Ap.* 35), Tertullian (*Ap.* 21), and Eusebius (*H.E.* ii. 2). I cannot decide with certainty if there is any historical value in this suggestion, but the report cannot be the one implied in the present document nor those reports preserved in Greek and Syriac and printed by Tischendorf and Rahmani respectively.

therefore, summoned them before him and said to them : " O chiefs of iniquity, here is the letter of Pilate, and he is testifying against you that it was you who crucified Jesus of Nazareth. I will order now that none of you be left alive in the world on account of your cruel deeds to Jesus. He ordered, therefore, that they should be killed and their bodies be hung on the heights that surmounted the gates of the city. Then he sent a messenger after Pilate and summoned him before him in order that he might tell him the truth concerning the miracles that emanated from the tomb of the Saviour.

When the messenger of the Emperor reached Jerusalem, the chiefs of the Jews assembled and went to Herod, and apprised him of the arrival of the messenger of the Emperor for the purpose of summoning Pilate, Joseph, and Nicodemus. They spoke to him out of their spite and jealousy and told him that they would bribe the messenger if he would kill Pilate, but he said to them that he was unable to do so without the sanction of the Emperor. In the morning Herod came to Jerusalem to have a word with Pilate on the affair. When Pilate heard this he went to his wife and said to her : " O my sister Procula,¹ arise and hide in a place on account of what Herod is going to do to me. The mob, the heads of the Jewish people and the messenger of the Emperor have come. I do not know if they have come to take off my head or to torment me for the sake of the Saviour. Arise you, take your children and go out of this town. Watch, however, over my body if they are bent on taking off my head. Give silver to the soldiers and redeem my body from them, shroud it, and place it near the tomb of my Lord Jesus in order that His grace may overtake me. Do this even if you have to give all my possessions for the purpose."

When his wife heard these words she tore up her garments, and began to pluck the hair of her head, saying, " What are these words you are uttering to me, my lord Pilate. Have I not sufficient pain in my heart on account of what you did with Jesus in crucifying Him ? To tell you the truth, O brother, you have comforted my heart to-day in apprising me of your possible death. If God did not spare His only Son but delivered Him up for us,² neither I nor you will flee from

¹ This sentence is missing in M. 127 and the previous sentences are somewhat differently worded in the three MSS.

² Cf. Rom. viii. 32.

death for Him. What utility shall we have from our nation ?¹ O brother, if you love me more than you love Him, it is blameworthy. God knows that we are both of us one body, and as we did not separate from each other in this world, neither we nor our children should be separated the one from the other in the Kingdom of Heaven."

While Procula, the wife of Pilate, was saying this, the troops came and surrounded him and took him to the court of Herod, in the presence of the messenger of the Emperor, who said : "Are you Pilate who said 'There is no hand over my hand ?'² How did you kill this Jesus without consulting the Emperor ?" Pilate did not give him any answer to this question but only said : "My lord, if these have had so little fear of God as to crucify His beloved Son, I am prepared to die for His holy name, I have faith that if I die for His name I shall possess the eternal life, and you will not impede me from His glory." The Jewish people said then to the messenger of the Emperor : "What is the utility of speaking to him while he insults you in the Coptic language ?"³

Immediately after (the envoy of the Emperor) gave orders that he should be stripped of his clothes, that a napkin should be tied round his loins, and that he should be flagellated with a rough whip. Herod incited them to flog him well, and the Jewish people said : "O Pilate all the sufferings you inflicted on Barnābān have now come back on your own head. You prided yourself and said that you were the Governor, and the Emperor. Now no power of any kind remains to you in the city of Jerusalem." Pilate bore with patience this taunt while he was being flogged with the whip, and his innocent blood flowed profusely on the ground before them like flowing water.

Then his wife Procula hastened and came to him and began to urge and encourage him, saying, "O martyr, O my brother Pilate, how I wish to die with the death with which you will die !" The Jews seized her immediately with her hair and threw her before her

¹ Found only in P.

² *I.e.*, more powerful than I am.

³ That Pilate was of Egyptian origin is also the statement of the Coptic fragments edited by Revillout (No. 4) in *Pat. Orient.*, ii., p. 151, seqq. and Robinson, *Copt. Apocryphal Gospels*, p. 176. Cf. James, *Apocr. N.T.*, p. 148. See also my note above p. 499 and Crum in *J.E.A.*, 1927, p. 23.

husband in order to intensify his affront and indignity.¹ The holy Procula, however, was jubilant in her heart and began to say : " O my brother Pilate, the beginning of this first honour that came to me I offer to Christ and to His holy name." ²

The Jews then said to Pilate : " Know that this punishment which is inflicted on you is not for what you have done to Jesus of Nazareth, but for your murdering of Barnābān." And he replied to them : " Would that I could be found worthy to be crucified with my wife and children for the name of Jesus, and that He could be left alive to me ; but I believe, rather I am sure of the fact, that He is alive and that He has eternal life, which He imparts to all believers in Him." The Jews answered Him and said : " O Pilate, your life is like His life and your lot is similar to His lot." And he said : " Amen. My life is with Him, and His judgment will be on you and your children." ³ The Jews then sprang upon him, and some of them slapped him, some others struck him on the face, and some others insulted him and reviled him saying : " We will not release you until you die on the wood like your God Jesus."

When the messenger of the Emperor noticed the intensity of their hatred against him he took him from their hands and said to them : " The Emperor has not permitted me to do this, nor has he ordered me to torture him and to kill him, until I have brought him before him." The Jews, however, satisfied him with much money and said to him : " Kill him and his affair will not reach the ears of the Emperor." And they asked him to give them permission to drag him in the streets of the town bound with fetters and accompanied by his bare-headed wife ; and this was granted to them. How bitter was the weeping in Jerusalem, when people saw Pilate and his wife with their hands bound with fetters behind their back and dragged in the streets, while the Jews were applauding and saying : " This is like the crucifixion of Jesus of Nazareth !" When the hirelings were tired of

¹ Sic P., but M. 127 : " in order to insult *her*" and M. 355 : " in order to burn her." A slight graphic error arising in Arabic characters between *Yahkīrūha* and *Yahrukūha*.

² Sic P., but M. 127 and M. 355 : " the beginning of your honour offer it to . . ."

³ Sic P., but M. 127 and M. 355 : " My judgment is on the Jews and their children."

the work of dragging they threw them in prison while still bound with iron fetters, but beaming with joy.

Then the false witnesses and teachers of error sat and wrote many lies about Pilate, saying : " This is Pilate who said, ' There is no hand over my hand and no other king beside me.' This is Pilate who abrogated our prescriptions. This is the one who demolished our synagogues, in which people read the law and the commandments. This is the one who killed the indomitable Barnābān." When they wrote this they began to bring accusations against Joseph and Nicodemus, and they brought them bound with fetters¹ before Herod, as they had done with Pilate. He ordered them to be flogged and their possessions plundered, like Pilate's, and they were so much weakened by scourging and so impoverished that they resembled Job at the time of his poverty.

Then the iniquitous Jews sat and conspired together to burn the tomb of the Saviour on account of the prodigies and miracles that they saw emanating from it, and they asked for the wood of the cross to be burnt likewise. Joseph, however, had taken it and placed it in a hidden place in the sepulchre. The Jews, therefore, brought fire which they kindled round the sepulchre, but it did no harm of any kind to it, nor did it reach it ; and to hide their shame, they hid² the entrance of the sepulchre and placed a stone over it in order that no one might penetrate into it. The Jews did all this.

When Pilate and his wife, and Joseph and Nicodemus, were in prison, Herod asked the messenger of the Emperor to empower him to send Joseph and Nicodemus to their own town and to kill them therein, but the messenger of the Emperor did not allow him to do so. Then the Jews asked Herod to secure for them from the messenger of the Emperor a permit which would allow them to crucify Pilate like his Master, and when they bribed him with much money he delivered Pilate to them in order that they might crucify him and kill him.

While they had conspired thus to kill Pilate with his wife and his children, lo, the keepers of the prison came to Pilate shaking and trembling. They began to implore the messenger of the Emperor, saying : " O our lord the Vizier, either do with Pilate what you have

¹ " Bound with fetters " is only found in P.

² Or " they sealed."

intended to do with him, or take him away from us.¹ From the time you have ordered him to be imprisoned with his wife, they have not been left alone, but a spiritual man is constantly with them, whose light is more dazzling even than that of the sun. We saw him coming down from Heaven and embracing them, after which the fetters and shackles with which they were bound were torn up, and their iron melted like water from their feet ; further, the column to which they were tied bent down and worshipped that spiritual being, and it is even now in that bent state, inclining to the ground."

Then they asked them and said : "What is the description of that man ?" And they answered : "He is a Galilean by appearance, and his hair is beautiful and flowing in curls round him."² He spoke at a great length with Pilate and his wife, and said to him, 'O Pilate, you shall be crucified on the wood of the Cross like me, and they shall place a crown of thorns on your head like me, but they will not be able to kill you here : they will take you to the Emperor Tiberius, before whom you will stand and who will order you to be crucified a second time.' They were also having much intimate conversation with each other."

When the Jews heard these words from the gaolers an intense fear seized them and their hearts palpitated. They began to say to one another : "Even if they kill us and kill our children we will kill and crucify Pilate." Then Herod enjoined the gaolers not to repeat these words before anybody else until Pilate was killed. When Pilate heard these words he was greatly pleased.

Meanwhile the Jews advanced much silver to the messenger of the Emperor—and it amounted to such a quantity that it carried conviction, and he allowed them to crucify him. Then they rushed like mad dogs to the gaol in order to take him out and crucify him.³ When they entered the gaol they found him smiling and joyful, while the fetters were loosed from him and from his wife, and the column was leaning towards the ground like a tree bent by the force of the wind.

The Jews took then Pilate and his wife and brought them to the open court. They stripped him of his garments, tied a napkin round his waist to cover his nudity, and began to march them through all the

¹ P., "Do not take him from us."

² M. 127, "He is Jesus of Nazareth."

³ All these sentences are only found in P.

city until they reached the spot where they had crucified the two malefactors, and they crucified him there.

God, however, who is full of mercy, inculcated forgetfulness into the mind of the Jews so that none of them stretched an evil hand towards the wife of Pilate. Indeed, she was standing near him urging and encouraging him, saying: "O my brother Pilate, remember the One who comforted you and came to you in this very night. Endure and bear your tribulations for His name." And when they were intending to lift him on the cross, they remembered the Cross of the Saviour, and for this they immediately opened the sepulchre and took the wood of the cross and crucified Pilate on it. They fastened him tightly on it with nails, placed on his head a crown of thorns, arrayed him in a purple garment,¹ and began to pierce his side with a spear while shouting and saying: "O Pilate, disciple of Jesus of Nazareth, if your Master has risen from the dead come down from the cross, and we will believe in Him."²

The blessed Pilate began to pray while hanging on the cross, and said: "O my Lord, I have polluted your holy cross by the hanging of my body on it, because it is a pure wood and my body is an impure body; your blood is an innocent blood, and my blood³ is carnal. I do not weep now, O my Lord, because I have been crucified for your name, but I weep because I have defiled and polluted your holy cross. I do not sigh, O my Lord, for help, but I shed tears because you have borne all these sufferings for us sinners. I do not weep, O my Lord, because they have crucified me.⁴ Have pity on me, your sinning servant, who has been lifted up on your holy cross, as I am not worthy of all these benefits. I do not sigh because of my nudity, but I weep for your deep humility and self-effacement.⁵ Now I ask you, O my Lord Jesus Christ, not in my own name, but for the glory of your Majesty and the honour of your Cross, to grant rest⁶ and a happy lot

¹ Cf. John xix. 2-5. Note how the author is at some pains here and elsewhere to reproduce in the case of Pilate all the incidents of the Passion of Christ.

² Cf. Matt. xxvii. 43.

³ I follow V. 199. The three other MSS. have "body" for "blood."

⁴ The preceding sentences are only found in P.

⁵ In the above sentences I have taken the best wording represented by the three MSS.

⁶ Syr. *niyāha*.

to my poor soul. Grant rest to me, your servant Pilate, to your maidservant Procula, and to my children, in the day in which you will come to judge the world.”¹

This is what Pilate said, and his God-loving wife Procula approached him, kissed his legs while he was hanging on the wood of the cross, and said : “ Why are you weeping on the wood of the Cross ? You are ahead of us in sitting before the throne of the Judge. You are ahead of us in lighting your lamp at the wedding of your Lord Jesus Christ. You are ahead of us, O my brother Pilate, in lying in the banquet of a thousand years.² You are ahead of us in wearing the diadem of the king in the dignified law court of Judgment. Blessed are you, O Pilate, for having been lifted up on the wood of the cross, and this lifting will make you worthy of sitting in the Kingdom of Heaven.”

This is what the blessed Procula said under the cross, while all eyes were gazing at her. She further said : “ You have preceded us and sat before the throne of judgment. Now you have lit your lamps in the wedding of your Master.” And the Jews began to rail and scoff at her and at Pilate. Then two crowns came down from Heaven, equal to each other in glory and majesty, and a voice from Heaven was heard saying : “ Know, O Pilate and Procula, that you will be crowned with these two crowns that came down to you from Heaven, because of the sufferings you have borne for your God and your great faith in Him.” Then the two crowns disappeared and went up to Heaven.

When the multitudes noticed this miracle, they hastened and brought down Pilate from the cross alive, then they heated water for him and washed his body with it, after which they put on him his garments, and brought him and his wife Procula to the messenger of the Emperor and said : “ If the Emperor has sent you to destroy this city, listen to the cruel Herod.³ You do not know his great cunning

¹ P. “ Give her (my wife) rest and comfort in the day in which she shall come to you.”

² The author seems to have a tendency to a millenium. The sentence is only found in P.

³ The author apparently identifies this Herod with Herod Antipas, who was the son of Herod the Great by Malthace (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. i. 3), and who ordered the death of John the Baptist (Josephus, *Ant.*, xviii. v. 2). In another passage below, p. the author appears to identify this

and machinations. He became jealous of his brother, took his wife Herodia from him and killed him with hunger and thirst, through the hatred and cruelty that are in him. Do you not see what he did in the city in these days? He killed a just man because of his own sympathy with the Jews and God wishes to destroy us all because of him. What advantage will ever come to Jerusalem if you allowed Pilate, its Governor, to be murdered in it. Truth to tell it is Herod that deserves death instead of Pilate. If the Emperor was aware of the deeds of Herod he would not have empowered him to rule over this city and torment Pilate and his wife.¹ After all the affairs of the city are in the hands of the Emperor, and Herod has neither a word to say in the matter, nor power and jurisdiction of any kind over us."

When the Vizier heard these words from the multitude he was pleased with them, and he released Pilate until he had brought his case before the Emperor. Now the Emperor had an only son whom he loved tenderly more than all his kingdom. It happened that the boy went into a bath to wash,² and an evil spirit entered there into him, strangled him and threw him to the ground dead. His father and mother came then to him with intense grief, in order to take him and bury him, and they buried him near them and wailed and wept over him night and day for three complete months. One day when the Emperor was sitting wailing and weeping over the loss of his son, his wife came down to him, bowed before him and said to him: "O my lord, we have had much sorrow and our bereavement has affected our brain." And the Emperor said to her: "And how has our brain been affected?" And she replied to him and said: "O my lord, I recalled that some time ago the inhabitants of Jerusalem sent to you a letter concerning a certain Jesus of Nazareth³ whom the Jews had crucified, and they reported that He had raised dead men while He was alive. And Pilate also, the Governor of the town, wrote to you a letter in which he registered the miracles and prodigies which

Herod with Herod Agrippa i. In the "New Life of John the Baptist" which I edited and translated in vol. i. of the *Woodbrooke Studies* (p. 251), Herod Antipas is said to have died of a sudden stroke.

¹ M. 127 has no reference to the wife.

² M. 127, "to swim."

³ P. "the prophet."

He had wrought. He told us that He had raised up the dead, healed the cripples¹ and the sick, opened the eyes of the blind and the ears of the deaf. He further added that many miracles and prodigies were taking place even now at His tomb. This is the reason why I said that we have been stupid, that we have been struck with forgetfulness and our brain has been affected. Indeed, if we had sent our son, when he died, to His tomb, he would have been alive now."

When the Emperor heard these words he rose from his forgetfulness and remained for a long time in a state of confusion, meditating over the words of his wife. Then he immediately summoned his faithful servants² and enjoined them to fill vessels with gifts to be sent to Jerusalem. He also despatched brave and courageous men to the tomb of his son, which they opened and from which they took the coffin that contained the body and brought it to the father. When he saw that all the flesh of his limbs had suffered putrefaction and disappeared and that nothing was left from his body but the bones, he and his wife wept bitterly for a long time. Then he took ink, pen and papyrus,³ and wrote as follows :—

"Tiberius the Emperor of the earth and the servant of the King of Heaven asks you and implores your love, O my Lord Jesus Christ, whom I do not know at all, whom I did not perceive, and to whom I have never had the honour and the worth to speak. A man named Pilate bore witness to the miracles which you wrought, and reported that you rose from the dead, and I believed his words ; he told me that you gave sight to the blind, and I believed this about you ; he mentioned to me that you made wine out of water, and I did not doubt it from you ; he wrote also to me that you raised from the dead a man called Lazarus four days after he had died, and I became convinced in my mind that you had done it. He also testified and said that the miracles which you wrought, the tomb in which your body is laid was also working them. I believed in you and was convinced that you are the Son of God. As you are in heaven so also you are on the earth and in the tomb. Now, O my Lord, have pity on the weakness of your servant Tiberius ; remember him with your

¹ M. 127, "those possessed by demons."

² M. 127, "his agent," P. "the agents of his property."

³ *Kirtās* means also "parchment."

grace, and have mercy on the wretchedness of Cæsar, my son and your servant, whom I have sent to your tomb. Grant him life, O my Lord and my God.¹ I heard that you were the resurrection and the life² to all the dead from Adam till now. I believed that you have suffered pains in order to deliver the sons of men from the hands of the enemy. If you will, let your grace overtake me.³ Amen."

After the Emperor had written this letter he sealed and sent it to his messenger in Jerusalem. He also said to his faithful servants :⁴ "Inform yourselves about the tomb of Jesus whom the Jews have crucified, in which they placed His body and from which He rose the third day, and lay the body of my son in it. I have faith that my son whom I am sending dead in a coffin to Jerusalem will come back to me alive." And they departed and reached Jerusalem with the letter of the Emperor and the dead body of his son, accompanied by thousands of attendants, female servants and male servants ; and they went to Herod and to the messenger of the Emperor.

At that time Pilate and his wife were in prison. In the night the Lord Jesus Christ appeared to them a second time and said to Pilate : "Peace be with you, O Pilate ! Peace be with you, you whose name was the first to be pronounced by the Father's mouth of life.⁵ It is inevitable that you should be judged in the court of the Emperor Tiberius.⁶ Now is the word of the Father fulfilled, because I stood before you and you sat and judged me. Be not grieved, O Pilate, because they have crucified you for me, since this has saved you from your sin and from the act of your scoffing at me. You have been flagellated, O Pilate, in order that you might be redeemed of the sin of my flagellation, which you ordered. Your blood has been shed, O Pilate, in order that you might be purified from the sin of the shedding of my blood. You have been lifted up on the wood of the

¹ M. 355 and P. add : "And raise him up from the dead in order that I may believe in you and in your miracles."

² Cf. John xi. 25.

³ P. adds : "To you is glory due with your good Father and the Holy Spirit forever and ever," and M. 127 is here : "Have pity on me with your grace, O most merciful of the merciful." This last expression is from the Kur'ān (Surah vii., verse 150).

⁴ Here as above M. 127 "his agent," P. however : "his soldiers."

⁵ Or "by the mouth of life, the Father." M 127 omits these sentences altogether.

⁶ M. 355 and P : "of a man called Pilate."

cross, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the sin of your saying to (the Jews) 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.'¹ They have stripped you of your garments, O Pilate, in order that you might be absolved from the sin of the stripping of my garments. They have placed a crown of thorns on your head, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the punishment of the crown of thorns that your soldiers placed on my head. You have been dragged in the streets of the town, O Pilate, in order that you might be saved from the sin of my carrying of the cross which you ordered while in the seat of judgment. Everything that has happened to you is for the sole reason that you may be saved from the sin of my death.

"As to your God-loving wife Procula, tell her not to grieve at the fact that they took her bare-headed, as my own mother Mary was rendered bare-headed in the town of Jerusalem on the day of my death. All the inhabitants of the earth with their offerings and sacrifices are not worth to me a single hair of my mother's head. O Pilate, tell your wife Procula not to grieve at the fact that they took her out of her palace and the inhabitants of the town saw her bare-headed, as Mary, my mother, took me also from country to country and from town to town and experienced the pains of expatriation.²

"O Pilate, as your wife Procula comforted you with her words at the time of your crucifixion, so my beloved mother comforted me with her words while I was hanging on the wood of the cross and said to me: 'I convey you peace, O my beloved Son, and light of my eyes.'³ Now, O Pilate, do not be afraid because it is inevitable

¹ John xix. 6.

² P. adds: "and of the desert of the mountain of Kuṣkam." This Kuṣkam is the place in which the holy family took refuge at the time of the flight of Christ from Herod, according to the Syriac vision of Theophilus, Patriarch of Alexandria. See Mingana, Syr. 5 ff. 1-18b and Mingana, Syr. 39 ff. 56b-70b, and cf. my note in *Woodbrooke Studies*, vol. i., p. 255. See also *R.O.C.*, xv., 128-132. The place was afterwards called *Muharrak*, and in due course a church was built in it to commemorate the event. See *Pat. Orient.* iii., 255. The place is also referred to in Ethiopic literature: "Joseph rose up and took our holy Lady, the Virgin Mary, and came unto the country of Egypt and went to Mount Kuṣ Kuām." Budge's *One Hundred and Ten Miracles of Our Lady Mary*, p. 145. Kuṣkam is the modern Kuṣ about sixteen miles north of Luxor, but some authorities place it near the Red Sea.

³ The last clause is found in P. only.

that you should enter into another fight for me near Tiberius Cæsar, and here is a sign for you to this effect : Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, has arrived here. His father sent him here dead, out of his great faith. They will soon summon you and deliver you from prison, take him to the tomb in which my body was laid, and as I gave life to Lazarus and to the son of the widow in the town of Nain, so I will give life to this boy because of his father's faith. Grow cheerful, O Pilate, and fight for my resurrection."

The Saviour spoke these words to Pilate and disappeared from his sight. When they brought the son of the Emperor, and the vizier saw that he was dead and that he was accompanied by a considerable army of soldiers, he and all the town of Jerusalem were frightened, because they believed that he had died on the way. They were terrified lest the Emperor should order the town to be burnt and its inhabitants destroyed, but when they perused the letter of the Emperor they were struck by the depth of his humility and the greatness of his faith and were much astonished.

When Herod and the Jewish community heard this news they feared that the son of the Emperor should rise and live again, and they conspired with the guards who were keeping watch over the body of the son of the Emperor, and gave them much gold and silver in order that they might allow them to take his body stealthily and hide it ; and the wicked community accomplished what they had conceived.¹

When Pilate was freed from prison for the sake of placing the body of the son of the Emperor in the tomb of the Saviour, in company with Joseph and Nicodemus, a Jew came by stealth in the darkness of the night and stole the body of the son of the Emperor from the coffin, at the command of Herod and of the priests. In the morning when they sought the body of the son of the Emperor and did not find it, all the city was thrown into confusion, and the heads of the Jews assembled and went to the messenger of the Emperor and told him that no one could have done this but Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus.

When the vizier heard these words he took Joseph and Nicodemus and scourged them, but no one laid harmful hands on Pilate, because, the people who had witnessed his crucifixion had

¹ This last clause is only found in P.

noticed the crowns that had come down from heaven for him and his wife. While Joseph and Nicodemus were bound with fetters and in the power of Herod, Gabriel the head of the angels, came down from heaven and extended his wings over them, and all the place shone with light, and he began to speak to them saying: "I am the angel Gabriel who took the head of John away from the wicked Herod, the father of the present iniquitous king, and proclaimed his sin in all the world; ¹ I will now destroy this wicked Herod, and he will die of the pains and hunger which he will experience, and vermin will breed in his body like his father." ² As to you, O Joseph and Nicodemus, here is what the Lord says: 'Your sufferings resemble my sufferings; you became martyrs, and I, too, was a martyr.' It is I who delivered you from destruction at the hands of the wicked ones, and it is I who enjoined the cloud to remove you, and delivered you from their hands. It is, however, imperative, that you should stand before the Emperor. As to the body of the son of the Emperor which the heads of the Jews have concealed in order that the glory of the Christ may not be manifest, I shall disclose its hiding-place and bring it before the people."

This is what the angel Gabriel told the venerable chiefs Joseph and Nicodemus. And these two blessed ones sent for me, in secret, me Gamaliel, and narrated to me what the angel had spoken to them, because, I the weak Gamaliel, was the disciple of these blessed ones.³ When I left them I noticed a great commotion in the town where people were saying to one another that the coffin containing the body of the son of the Emperor had been discovered in a Jewish house, and that the reason for stealing the body was to inculcate Pilate and discredit the resurrection of our Lord. The news spread in all the town that Herod and the High Priests of the Jews had connived and stolen the body of the son of the Emperor.

¹ See my edition and translation of *A New Life of John the Baptist* in vol. i. of *Woodbooke Studies*, p. 245 sqq.

² Cf., Acts. xii. 23. It appears from this that the author identifies this Herod with Herod Agrippa who died in A.D. 44 (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* xix. viii. 2) and who was the son of Aristobulus, son of Herod the Great by Mariamme, granddaughter of Hyrcanus. There is some confusion in the author's mind concerning the dynasty of the Herods. He had apparently identified him with Herod Antipas.

³ M. 127 has instead: "And I comforted them and strengthened them."

In the meantime the archangel Gabriel removed the body of the son of the Emperor from the place in which it was hidden, and brought it and placed it before the vizier, and disappeared. At that very moment the vizier was incensed against Herod, and he threw an arrow at him, which caused him much pain. His body bred worms, and he died from the intensity of his pain.¹ As to the Jews who had hidden the body of the son of the Emperor, their houses were burnt together with their sons and daughters, and in this way they died an ignominious death, more ignominious than that of all men.

The vizier took then Joseph and Nicodemus from prison and handed to them the body of the son of the Emperor and his coffin ; he handed also to them² the letter of the Emperor, and they read it and were amazed at his wisdom, his deep humility and great faith. Then they lifted their eyes to heaven and said : "O Lord our God, O resurrection of the living and the dead, make manifest your power in the son of the Emperor Tiberius and accept the supplications of his father and have pity on him as you had pity on the son of the widow in the town of Nain. With your great power raise his son alive in order that he may glorify your holy name. Accept, O Lord, the strong faith of his father as you accepted the strong faith of Mary and Martha and raised for them their brother Lazarus. Have pity on him, O Lord Jesus Christ, and comfort the heart of the father by the resurrection of the son ; give him life, and let your holy sepulchre make him live again, in order that his faith in you may be strengthened like the rest, and in order that he may ascertain your resurrection from the dead."

The blessed ones spoke these words over the coffin of the son of the Emperor while dead ; then they took him and placed him in the tomb of the Saviour, and adjusted the stone to the door of the tomb. And the son of the Emperor remained four days in the tomb with a closed door, and they experienced deep sorrow at his long stay in the tomb and at his not having risen quickly. On the fourth day, however, he rose from the dead, the stone that was at the door of the tomb rolled away backwards, and the guards, terrified at the sight, went in haste to Pilate and began shouting and saying : "Come, our lord Pilate, and

¹ M. 127 adds here : "And he went to hell, and an evil journey is it !" This last sentence is from Kur'an, ii. 120, etc.

² M. 127 adds also : "to Pilate."

see how the son of the Emperor, who was in the tomb of Jesus, has risen, and how the stone rolled away without the help of a human hand."

Pilate then bowed himself to the ground, together with Joseph and Nicodemus, and worshipped in great joy ; then they all of them with the vizier of the Emperor and all the army repaired to the tomb of the Saviour, and they observed that Cæsar, the son of the Emperor, had risen and was sitting over¹ the coffin in which his body lay. He appeared bewildered with eyes fixed on the royal garment which he was wearing. They cried to him, saying : " O Cæsar, come out with the power of the One who raised you. Let our joy be perfect in this day as in the day in which our Saviour rose from the dead." At that very moment he jumped and came out of the tomb and sat on the stone. Then the vizier of his father approached him, bowed down and worshipped before him and said to him : " O my lord, what happened to you and why are you in a state of stupefaction ? " And he answered saying :—

" I am bewildered at the greatness of the glory, kingdom and power of my Lord Jesus who raised me from the dead, and I do not see the like of Him in any one of the men that are standing here,² nor do I see in them anything like His Majesty. His glory and His Majesty are indeed great. What is the honour of my father in comparison with this King ? This is the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords. What is the diadem of my father in comparison with His glory and the light of His Cross ? What are the sweet scents of my father in comparison with the sublime perfume that exhales from this Jesus ?³ All the rulers of the earth cannot live after their death, but this powerful ruler, Jesus, has the power to do it. No one fears any king after he dies, but this Jesus, King of Kings, all angels, human beings and demons fear His name, and the doors of hell tremble from their dread of Him. All the tormenting spirits who take the souls of the wicked ones, and who are more wicked than the beasts of prey, dragons and vipers, I saw that they were terrified when a voice came to them, saying : ' Jesus orders you to take up this soul from amongst you, because He wants it.' They did not see Him, but only heard the one who pronounced His name.

¹ M. 355 : " in."

² P. " In all the world."

³ There are here some discrepancies in the MSS.

"I was then taken forthwith out of the torments in which I was lying, and He called me by my name saying : "O Cæsar, rise up ; I have given you to your parents on account of their faith in Me, and in order that they might fight for My resurrection." Then He placed His cross on the coffin in which I was lying, and my bones adhered to one another, and my soul recognised its body. When my soul was united to my body I experienced a great joy, but fear overtook me after that lest He should deliver me again to them."

This is what the son of the Emperor said while sitting on the stone that was placed on the tomb of the Saviour. Then he asked those who were standing near him, saying : "What is the name of this town ?" And they answered him : "Jerusalem."¹ Then he inquired about his father and mother, and they informed him that they were alive and that they were in the Capital of the Empire. After this Pilate, Joseph and Nicodemus cried and said : Honour and glory be to you, O our Lord Jesus Christ, You who have revived dead bones and given life to those who love You ! "

When the vizier noticed what had taken place, he went to a dung-heap and began to throw earth and ashes on his head in sign of the deep sorrow that he felt at his treatment of Pilate and his wife. Then he kissed the head of Pilate and asked forgiveness from him and his companions, and wept bitterly on the tomb of the Saviour on account of the magnitude of the miracle that had taken place in the person of the dead man who was now standing alive. Immediately after the vizier began to write a report to the Emperor, and informed him that his son who was dead was now speaking to him, and announced to him the great joy of the resuscitation of his son Cæsar, and his resurrection from the dead. Then the vizier handed also papyrus² to his master, the son of the Emperor, and asked him to write himself to his father, in his own handwriting. And he wrote as follows :

"I Cæsar, son of the Emperor Tiberius, was dead like the rest of mankind, and my body was decomposed and became earth in the grave, in which it lay for three months. The greatness of your faith sent me to Jerusalem hoping that I will rise from the dead by the power of the Lord Jesus Christ. I have now risen from the dead.³ My eyes saw the Lord Jesus in the flesh which He took from the

¹ P. adds "the Holy City."

² Or parchment.

³ This sentence is missing in M. 127.

Virgin Mary, and He is in an ineffable and indescribable glory. He called me by my name, saying, 'O Cæsar, arise now and stand up alive, and become the beginning of the resurrection of the dead.'¹ He then took me out of the hand of death, and His voice gave life to my body. He bestowed on you this great gift of my life, O my father, because of your great confidence and faith in Him, and He has raised me in order that you might increase in the glorification of His Majesty. I greet you,² O Emperor, my father. My hand which had suffered putrefaction in the grave and the fingers of which had dissolved into earth, is writing to you this greeting."³

The letter was handed to a courier who preceded Cæsar to his father, and announced the great joy to him. When the missive reached the Emperor he read it, and when he reached in it the passage in which it was said,⁴ "your son who was dead is writing this to you with his own hand, and the Omnipotent Lord raised me from the dead in Jerusalem," he was immediately bewildered and confused, like Jacob when he received the intelligence that his son was alive; and he began to say to himself, "Is it possible that my son is alive? Is this news true?" Then he went to his wife and read to her the letter of her son Cæsar in which it was written that Jesus raised him from the dead.

The Queen threw then from her the dignity of the wives of the kings, when she heard that her son was alive, and became like a lioness. They called the courier who carried the letter and they said to him: "Be careful to speak the truth, and to tell us the story of our son exactly as it happened. Life or death are placed before you as the result of your words. If we see the face of our son another time, we will crown you with the crown of the kingdom and give you much money, but if we do not see the face of our son, your only reward with us will be sword and death. Go now to prison until we see the outcome of your words."

The Emperor did not neglect the affair of his son, but despatched immediately other couriers to ascertain whether what had been said concerning his son was true or not. The couriers of the Emperor

¹ Cf. Colos. i. 18.

² Lit. "I convey you peace."

³ P. adds: "And the report to your paternity. Be in good health in the Lord. Amen."

⁴ This clause is missing in M. 127.

took the way to Jerusalem and found out that the son of the Emperor and his army were coming to the Emperor. The couriers of the Emperor delivered then to Cæsar the letter of his father Tiberius. Astonished at what they saw they proceeded to the Capital which they reached one day before the entry of the son of the Emperor, and early next morning the son of the Emperor arrived.

Who would describe the great joy and the sublime spectacle of that day ! When the Emperor heard of the presence of his son he went out to meet him with so much haste that all the town was in a state of commotion,¹ especially when its inhabitants noticed the Emperor walking on his feet to go to his son, and exultant with joy because he was going to meet him. When he saw his face he began to cry, and weep from joy, saying : "Glory be to you, O Jesus of Nazareth, O God of earth and heaven, who vivified the bones that had suffered dissolution. Your grace overtook me to-day, because you raised my son from the dead. I am to-day as if I had seen the Lord Jesus, and although I shall confess and believe every day in you and in your great power, to-day the belief of my heart is more intense.

"The resurrection of Lazarus from the dead in Bethany, four days after his death, was not so wonderful, O my Lord, because you were with him on the earth ; the great wonder is that you raised my son, Cæsar, three months after his death. This miracle is also greater than that you wrought for the son of the widow in the town of Nain, because you were before the bier and you raised him before his descent into the grave. The grace that you have granted me, O my Lord, is greater than that which you granted to Jacob when he was told that his son Joseph was alive, and he went to him and saw him. My son remained three months in the grave and by your power you raised him from the dead."

This is what the Emperor said with a heart brimming with joy, while embracing his risen son. Then he said to his son : "O Cæsar, my son, I am as joyful to-day as if I had seen the Saviour rising from the dead and raising my son for me.² The miracles which I heard He was working, I see them to-day with my own eyes." Then the

¹ This sentence is only found in P.

² M. 127 has : " This is what the Emperor said concerning the resurrection of his son."

father ordered that his son should ride in a litter,¹ and he cried saying : "O our Lord Jesus Christ Who was crucified, Who rose from the dead and raised my son for me !" How great was the joy of the town when they saw that the one who was dead had risen from the dead after a death of three months ! There was also much singing and jubilation before and after him while he was riding.

Then Cæsar began to narrate to his father and mother all what he had seen and all that Jesus—to Whom be glory—had done to him. He told them about Hell and the torments he saw in it. Then his father asked him and said : "Tell me about the physical characteristics, features and image of this man." And he said to him :² "Father, what is your glory in comparison with that of this great King. There is no likeness of His glory in all the world, and nothing like the resplendence of the diadem of His Kingdom. His speech is life and His rancour is wrath.³ The light of the sun cannot reach the brightness of His splendour, and the dignity of His garment is not to be found with any other king of the earth. His throne is a burning fire, and His cross is the light and the brightness of His majesty, which transcends the majesty of all the terrestrial beings. I, O father, did not see Him before His crucifixion to know His portraiture and His features, but summon Pilate, the Governor of Jerusalem, and he will inform you of His physical characteristics, features and image."

And the Emperor immediately summoned Pilate who was presented to him, and he asked him : "Are you the Governor Pilate who crucified Jesus ?" And he replied : "Yes, it is I your servant who stands before you. As to the crucifixion of Jesus, our living God, the Jews did not listen to my words on the matter, and it is Annas and Caiaphas who decided judicially on His crucifixion." And the Emperor Tiberius said : "You saw all the miracles and prodigies which He wrought, and I have been informed that at the time of His crucifixion you were sitting and judging His case. Now describe to me His image, His portraiture, His picture, His majesty, and His beauty." And Pilate said to him : "I bear witness before

¹ M. 127 adds : "Preceded by thousands and thousands of marching soldiers."

² M. 127 omits all the following description.

³ Rather unseemly.

you, O Emperor, my lord, that He has been three times,¹ in my court, and I did not ascertain His portraiture and His characteristics : once I saw that He was of the colour of fire,² and once I saw Him like a bird flying to the heights of Heaven and the angels speaking to Him ;³ but your maidservant, my wife, and my children saw Him in their dream, and warned me against stretching a harmful hand towards Him. O my lord, by your life, I gave my two children to the Jews on His behalf in order that they might not crucify Him, and in order that they might release Him until I had brought His case before my lord the Emperor, but they did not listen to my words ; they released a robber from prison and murder, and they took and crucified Jesus. Let it be known, however, to you, O my lord, that He did this out of His own freewill."

And the Emperor Tiberius said to him : "Tell me from where He is and from what place He comes, and how and when He came down from Heaven so that the Jews found Him, seized Him, crucified Him, and murdered Him."⁴ And Pilate said to him : "They testified to me that His mother is a virgin, chaste and pure, that He was born of her without breaking her virginal seals, and that her name is Mary. The angel of the Lord came down from heaven and announced to her that she will conceive from the Holy Spirit and bring forth a Son whose name shall be called Emmanuel." And the Emperor said to him : "And how long did He remain on the earth ?" And Pilate answered : "Thirty years."

And the Emperor said to him : "And in all this length of time you saw this man, noticed the miracles and the prodigies that He was performing, and you did not inform me of His affair." And Pilate replied to him : "By your life, O my lord the Emperor, in all this length of time I did not see Him nor did I perceive His face except on the day of the crucifixion, when the Jews brought Him to me and crucified Him." And Tiberius said to him : "You have acted high-handedly, and have not informed me of His affair."⁵ They

M. 127 "three days."

² M. 127 omits this sentence.

³ P. adds : "And worshipping Him."

⁴ The answer is given succinctly in M. 127 as follows : "And he narrated to him His descent from heaven, His dwelling in a virgin, and His thirty years stay on the earth."

⁵ M. 355 adds here : "You ate and drank with Him." M. 127 omits all this question of the Emperor.

delivered Him to you, and you did not remember His miracles and prodigies, and you did not feel awestruck in His presence, and the glory of His divinity did not frighten you. I will now kill you and do to you what you did to Him."

The Emperor Tiberius spoke thus and immediately after the soldiers seized Pilate and took him out in order to cut off his head, but the Emperor ordered that he should be crucified another time before he was beheaded. And they crucified him outside the city, struck him on the head with a reed-stick, and nailed him to the wood, pierced his side with a spear, tormented him with grievous torments and after that proceeded to cut off his head.¹ And the blessed Pilate asked the soldiers to give him² a little respite so that he might pray. And he immediately knelt down and began to pray, saying :

"O my Lord Jesus Christ who took away all the sins of the world,³ have pity on your servant Pilate and forgive all my stumblings, omissions and sins. Guard my poor soul and deliver it from torments.⁴ I beseech you, O my Lord and my God, do not separate my soul from that of your maidservant Procula, but make her worthy to be with me in the place of rest.⁵ Do not forget your servants, my children, because while I was in the world, O Lord, I delivered them to death for your sake as a ransom for your crucifixion, but the Jews refused them. Do not let the tribulations of Pilate be in vain. I have indeed dared to judge you, O just Judge, but do not rebuke me for this sin which I have committed, because you are a merciful and compassionate God, and I am a created being, and I dared to say to you 'Who are You?'⁶ I implore you, O my Lord, not to put me to shame and not to rebuke me because I caused you to bear your cross and said to the Jews : 'Take ye Him and crucify Him.'⁷ And they did all this while I was in the seat of judgment.⁸ O my Lord, my God, and my Saviour, I beseech you not to remove me from your glory but to grant me your mercy. To you be glory and honour for ever. Amen."

¹ M. 127 omits all the above sentences.

² M. 355 adds here : "to take him down from the cross."

³ Cf. John i. 29.

⁴ P. and M. 355 : "from the route which it is following."

⁵ Syr. *niyāḥa*.

⁶ M. 127 : "From where are you?"

⁷ John xix. 6.

⁸ M. 127 omits all the above sentences.

Pilate uttered these words while kneeling on the ground. And I, Gamaliel was not able to restrain my tears when I saw the weeping of the blessed Pilate when he began to implore the soldiers to deliver his body to his servants after they had cut off his head. Then he turned and noticed one of his servants, Basilius¹ with a number of friends, all weeping, and he said to them :² "Do not weep over my death, because my Lord has tasted death for us. When you see that they have cut off my head, I want you to shroud my body well, to bring it to Jerusalem and there dig a grave for me near the tomb of Jesus, my Lord and my Saviour, in order that He may have pity on me."³

After Pilate had said this they cut off his head on the fifteenth of the month of June.⁴ Then we⁵ got hold of his body, shrouded it and took it to Jerusalem, as he had wished. When we reached the town we found that his wife Procula and her two children had died⁶ on the very day of our arrival, and we placed them all in one grave near the sepulchre of the Redeemer.

As to the Jews, the Emperor Tiberius sent orders to Jerusalem and had them all killed. He also sought Herod to slay him, but he was informed that he had died before Pilate.⁷

After this the wife of the Emperor Tiberius spoke to her husband and said to him : "O my lord Emperor, you knew and saw⁸ what

¹ P. "one of his servants and *Phasilius*, his majordomo." M. 127 omits this sentence altogether.

² M. 127, "and this is what Pilate said to his relatives and his friends."

³ There are differences in the MSS. in the wording of this sentence. I followed M. 127 in my translation.

⁴ Syrian month *hezirān* (old style). M. 355 and P. use here the Coptic month *Bawūnah*. There are many discrepancies here in the wording of the three MSS. I followed M. 127 which has the shortest text. The Copts honour Pilate and his wife on June 25 (new style). Cf. G. A. Müller, *Pontius Pilatus der fünfte Prokurator*, p. 7.

⁵ M. 127 and P. use for all these verbs the 3rd pers. plur.

⁶ M. 355, and P. use here *tanayyahu* from the Syr. *ittniḥ*.

⁷ M. 127 ends here with the colophon by Gamaliel, which comes later, and the following colophon : "This book is finished in 1994 of the Greeks, on a Friday, 13th October, in the time of our Fathers: Patriarch 'Abdal-Masih, and Mar Basil Maphrian of the East, and Mar Gregory the servant of the See of the Holy City. It was copied by the hand of the weakest of men, Joseph, a priest by name but a sinner by works." We give in the following pages the continuation of the story as found in M. 355 and P.

⁸ P. "knew and I saw."

the Saviour Jesus did in resuscitating to us our son from the dead, and we, O my lord Emperor, feel much sorrow because we did not see Him, and because we were unworthy of perceiving Him. The Jews killed Him unjustly and you killed the Governor who empowered them to kill Him.¹ If it pleases you, O my lord Emperor, we will send for His mother in order that we may see her, because it has come to our knowledge that she is living at this moment in Jerusalem, the city of the Jews. We will take her before us and crown her with the crown of the kingdom and send her back to her country in order that all may honour her, and in order that no wicked Jew may stretch a harmful hand towards her, as they did with her son." When the Emperor heard these words from his wife they pleased him, and he despatched many soldiers, female attendants, and palace officials to Jerusalem in order to bring the Virgin Mary to them so that they might crown her with the crown of the kingdom.

Before this, our Saviour, King of Kings, appeared to His mother and to the Apostles, His elect, and He disclosed to them many secrets, and informed them that the Emperor Tiberius had sent for the Virgin Mary. Then after having laid upon John to repair to the Emperor Tiberius,² He turned to Mary, His mother, and said to her : "O my beloved mother, I shall take you to My kingdom and show you a great glory, greater than all the perishable glory and kingdom of this world. I am aware, O mother, of the fact that you were for many days in pains for Me, and that you endured tribulations for My sake,³ in travelling from country to country and from town to town ; now I have come to take you in order that you may travel with Me to the city of the living God. You have toiled enough, O mother, come to the abode of joy and eternal rest.⁴ You have toiled with Me, O mother, in the sorrow that overtook you on the day of the Crucifixion, come now and I will take you to the comfort of My kingdom.

"You have toiled, O mother, and your heart has suffered for Me, make haste and accompany Me to the eternal hymn of joy and to a repose that has no end. You have toiled, O mother, in your weeping at the door of the sepulchre, come now and see My glory and the

¹ This last sentence is not found in M. 355.

² P. adds : "To receive good rewards from him."

³ P. omits these sentences.

⁴ This sentence is not found in P.

majesty of My throne,¹ sitting as I am in the middle of thousands and myriads of angels. You have wept for Me, O mother, on the *Kranion*² and Golgotha, make haste and come to the eternal heights. O mother, your feet were tired in the streets of the earthly Jerusalem, come now and see the beauty of the heavenly Jerusalem. O mother, you were hungry and thirsty for My sake, come now and have your satisfaction in the pleasures of heaven in My kingdom. O mother, you wept in the house of John for My sake, come now and hear the melodies of the exultations of the Cherubim and Seraphim³ who glorify Me, My Father and the Holy Spirit."

This is what the Saviour said to His mother to comfort her. Then she passed away and He sent her before Him on the wings of the Cherubim. As to the Apostles, they sorrowed greatly, bowed down, worshipped Him and asked Him saying: "O Lord, what is this sorrow that you have prepared for us, in taking away your mother, and in separating her from us? She used to comfort us, your disciples, since the day you left us and ascended to heaven. To-day great sorrow has filled our heart, and we became bereft of your sight⁴ and the sight of your virgin mother, and deprived of her salutary teaching." And the Saviour replied saying: "O my beloved and O my members, do not be sad on account of the passing away of My mother from you. She has not died, but she has gone to the dwellings of rest, joy and eternal life.⁵ She toiled much with Me in this world, and now I have taken her up⁶ to heaven, and you will soon see her and she will see you, because you are bound to face the death imposed on mankind. I shall take her and travel with her in the dwellings of the pious, and she shall see the Kingdom of Heaven and know My great love for her.⁷

"Did I not send you another time⁸ to the third heaven and you saw the heavenly Jerusalem in which your names are inscribed? Did

¹P.: "That you may see in the glory of My Father."

²*I.e.*, Calvary. See the beginning of the story.

³The MSS. exhibit slight differences here.

⁴P. omits.

⁵P.: "She has not gone from the world for pain, but she went in order to rest in the dwellings of rest, life and eternal joy."

⁶P.: "You saw her ascending to."

⁷P.: "In rest and eternal life. I comforted her with this in order that she may know my great love for her."

⁸P.: "Several times."

not the Father call you children because you became My beloved disciples? How could I not give heaven to My virgin mother in whose womb I remained nine months, from whose breasts I sucked milk like other children, and on whose lap I sat like other babes? How could I not comfort her heart and remove from it the sadness and sorrow which she experienced in this world for My sake? Lo the kings of the earth wish to summon her in order to bestow their honours upon her, but which earthly king is able to bestow upon her honours on earth as she deserves? Lo, the seven doors are open before her and the twelve doors¹ of the heavenly Jerusalem are also thrown open before her. The greeting of the Father has reached her, saying, 'Be welcome, O Mary; the habitations of Heaven will submit to you, and the seven trumpets² will sing before you. The sea of fire will serve³ before you, and the sun and the moon will be at your feet. All the choirs of heaven will sing before you, and heaven and earth will dance with canticles on the day of your Assumption.'

This is what the Lord said to His disciples concerning His holy mother. Then He turned to John, His beloved, and said to him: "You shall have to stand before Tiberius Cæsar, and bear witness to him about what you saw the Jews doing to Me on the wood of the cross." The Saviour said these words to His holy disciples and disappeared from their sight.

Some days later the troops which the Emperor Tiberius had sent to Jerusalem arrived, accompanied by Palace officials and female attendants from the Queen. They carried also with them the crown of the kingdom, royal garments, glorious dresses, and precious and princely robes. They scoured all the land of Judæa in search of the Virgin, but they did not find her because she had left this world and ascended to heaven.⁴ They took, however, the blessed John and brought him to

¹ About the twelve doors of heaven see the Syriac *History of the Blessed Virgin*, pp. 120-121 of the text (edit. Budge). Each door symbolised an Apostle of Christ. As to the seven doors they are the ordinary doors of the traditional seven heavens.

² M. 355: "the lions at the gate." The seven trumpets are, however, mentioned in the *Mysteries of St. John the Apostle*, edited and translated by Budge in the *Coptic Apocrypha*, p. 247. They are said there to be appointed over the heavenly dew.

³ P., "will be quenched."

⁴ P.: "and did not find her at all because she had gone to heaven."

the Emperor Tiberius. When the Emperor saw him he said to him : "Are you John, the beloved of the Lord and the friend of Jesus ?" And John answered and said : "By the will of God and His grace, I am, O my lord Emperor, the one who is called by this name.¹ And now, O my lord, who is worthy to unloose his shoe's latchet ? Who is able to grasp the rays of the sun or to embrace lightning ? The judgments of God are light and truth, O Emperor, and the light of truth condescended to come to us from the essence of God, and humbling Himself, He called us His brothers, friends, and Apostles.² By your life, O my lord Emperor, He never called us slaves, but always brothers and friends."³

Then the Emperor said to him : "Having performed all these miracles and prodigies, how could the Jews pierce His heart with a spear ?" And the blessed John replied : "The life of all of us consists of water and blood, and both of them sprang from His holy side. Before His crucifixion His virgin mother nudged Him at His side in Cana of Galilee, because people were in need of wine, and said to Him : 'O my beloved Son, they have no wine to drink at the wedding.' And our Lord turned and said to her : 'O woman, you have placed in advance your finger on the spot at which they will pierce My side.'⁴ You have asked Me, O mother, to make wine mixed with water in order that the guests of the wedding might drink of it ; in this you have placed in advance your hand in the spring of water and blood which will jet forth from my side, and from which I shall give the faithful to drink.' It is not good, O Emperor, that you should study too deeply the greatness of His divinity, that is to say of God and His works which the intelligence of men is unable to comprehend."⁵

And the Emperor said to him : "Are you the disciple who was standing near Him at the time of His Crucifixion ?" And John replied : "Yes, I was present there and saw all that the Jews did to our Lord Jesus Christ on the wood of the cross." And the Emperor

¹ M. 355 : "by His will and His love He called me by this name."

² P : "He came down to us, poor people, and called us His brothers, the friends of His Father, on account of His love for men."

³ P. adds : "of His Father."

⁴ M. 355 adds : "in order to give the faithful to drink."

⁵ M. 355 omits the last sentence.

said to him : " You will then know how to paint His image for me in the figure¹ which He had on the cross, exactly as He was crucified for us." And John replied : " Yes, I will paint Him." And the Emperor ordered a slab of good stone,² and the blessed John painted the figure of the Saviour on it³ according to the order of the Emperor. When it was finished the blessed John bent his head over it in order to kiss it with his mouth, and immediately after the lips of the Saviour turned to the lips⁴ of the blessed John, and they kissed each other.

The Emperor Tiberius witnessed all this, and he was greatly amazed and bewildered. Then the icon which represented the image of our Lord cried and said : " It is enough, O John, that you painted my image and the figure of my crucifixion, as you witnessed it on the day of the crucifixion. It was not fair on your part, you my beloved, to crucify me after my resurrection from the dead ;⁵ it would have been better if you had painted my figure according to the image you saw of me after my resurrection. The Jews crucified me once at the hand of Herod, why do you crucify me again at the hand of Tiberius ?⁶ The soldiers divided my garments among themselves in Jerusalem once, do not allow the inhabitants of Rome also to see my nudity. My side was pierced with a spear on Friday,⁷ do not pierce me, O John, my beloved, another time after my resurrection. I called Judas⁸ my friend, and he delivered me to death ; but I love you, O John, more than all the world, do not leave me, therefore, in the sufferings of the crucifixion, because I rose from the dead. You know, O John, the joy that you experienced, you and my virgin mother, on the day of my resurrection, since, therefore, I rose from the dead, do not leave me in the passion of the cross. Know, O John, that my resurrection was joy and gladness to all the earth."⁹

After the image said this to John, the voice was heard no more.

¹ M. 355 has here *haibah*, "dignity." I take this to be a mistake for *hai'ah*, "image, figure." This shows clearly that the original from which the MS. was transcribed was written in undotted Arabic characters in which there is no graphic difference between the two words. I believe that the variant could not have arisen otherwise.

² P. omits "stone."

³ M. 355 ; "on this slab of marble." P. omits "marble."

⁴ P. "Adhered to the lips."

⁵ M. 355 omits this sentence.

⁶ There are considerable verbal differences here in the two MSS.

⁷ M. 355 adds here "which was passover day."

⁸ M. 355, "John."

⁹ P. omits this sentence.

When the Emperor heard these wonderful words, his mind came back to him and he rose on his feet, kissed the head of John and said : "You are truly the disciple of Jesus Christ whom He loved, and you are His friend." And the Emperor took the image and embraced it, then he placed it on a high pedestal at that place, like the image of the Son of God in the country of the Byzantines.¹ Then the Emperor gave much money to John and bestowed many benefits on him, but he refused to take anything. Then he went out of the city, and a column of light carried him away and brought him to the Mount of Olives. He greeted the Apostles, his brethren, and narrated to them what he did in Rome, and all what happened to him with the Emperor Tiberius.

After this the Apostles desired to see the Virgin Mary and said : "We have seen our brother John, perchance we shall not be unworthy to see our lady, the Virgin Mary,² before our death." While the Apostles were saying this, lo the pure Virgin appeared to them in great glory. They fell on their faces before the majesty of the precious robe which she was wearing. She came to James and John and raised them first, then she raised the rest of the Apostles, and began to tell them about a part only of the heavenly glory found in the abode of rest, and informed them that she saw Pilate, his wife and his children in a great glory while the cross of Her Son was shining on them. After having told them this she disappeared from their sight.³

And I Gamaliel had learnt the art of writing, the science of Judaism⁴ and that of the Apostles our Fathers, and had also stepped in the science of the philosophers until I had acquired the knowledge of the right answer, and learnt the mystery of the resurrection of the Lord Christ,⁵ and the miracles which He performed, and what happened to the vizier of the Emperor, and to Galilus and the

¹ P. : "In the country of the Armenians, down to our own day." On the different representations of the Christ see Smith's and Cheetham's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. 511-518 and 874-880. I do not precisely know to which image the author refers as found in Asia Minor or Armenia. There seems to be no relation whatever between the picture of our Lord as drawn by John the Apostle and the account of the *History of the Likeness of Christ*, edited and translated by Budge in 1899, pp. 157-210 (of the text).

² There are here verbal differences in the narration.

³ M. 355 omits this sentence.

⁴ P. : "And the books of our fathers."

⁵ M. 355 : "the mystery of the Incarnation of our Lord Jesus Christ and His resurrection from the dead."

Emperor Tiberius, and I put all to writing and composed it as a memorial¹ of the holy resurrection.

(The final words of the story in M. 127 which should have stood above on p. 522 are) :

I beseech you, O brethren, I the weak Cyriacus, to pray for me in order that God may forgive my mistakes (through) His Son Jesus Christ who suffered for us by His will, and release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin. We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past life, which we have committed with knowledge or without knowledge. As He has rendered us here worthy of His knowledge, may He assemble us all in His heavenly Kingdom, through the grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ to whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

(The final words of the story in M. 355 are) :

And I beseech you to pray for me and to forgive me, me the weak Hyriacus. Pray for me so that the Lord may forgive me my mistakes, He who is the Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the living God, who suffered for us by His will. May He release all those who are bound with the fetters of sin, He who is the Christ of the worlds and the Saviour of all ! We ask Him to forgive us our sins and all the bad deeds of our past lives, which we committed with knowledge or which we committed without knowledge. May He forgive them all in the greatness of His mercy ! And as He has assembled us here may He render us worthy to assemble in His kingdom, in the heavenly Jerusalem ! May the Grace and mercy of our Saviour Jesus Christ be with us. To Him be glory in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Praise be to God the Lord of the worlds.² It has ended by the help of God.

(The final words and the colophon of P. are) :—

. . . Because He, the men-loving God, who saved us by His cross, will also save us and forgive us in His divinity. As He has rendered us worthy of the joy of His resurrection may He render us also worthy to assemble in His eternal kingdom, in order that we may

¹ P : "I wrote all these to you and placed it as a memorial." As stated above M. 127 places this colophon of Gamaliel after the crucifixion of Pilate where he ends the story.

² A Qur'ānic expression.

bless and glorify His holy name. To Him are due glory, honour, and worship in conjunction with His good Father and the Holy Spirit, now, always and for ever and ever, Amen. Here ends by the help of God the *Martyrdom of Pilate*, of his wife and children. May their intercession be with all the children of baptism. Amen. And the weak copyist, who is a sinner, implores all those who come across this life, and all those who read it and hear it to ask for the forgiveness of his sins. He who says a bad word shall be met with its equal, but he who finds a mistake and corrects it, the Lord will improve for him this world and the world to come with His peace. Amen.

חֲמִשָּׁה [מֶלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ] ² אֶלְמִישָׁה ³ מִנְדִּישָׁה ⁴ אֶחָד מִבְּנֵי
 אֲחִישָׁה [לֹא יָדָע מִמֶּלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ מֶלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ
 אֲחִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה מִבְּנֵי אֶחָד
 הַבְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ. מִלְּמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה מִבְּנֵי
 מִלְּמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה ⁵. מִלְּמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה
 מִלְּמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה ⁶ [מִלְּמִישָׁה] ⁷ לֹא יָדָע
 אֶלְמִישָׁה ⁸ לֹא יָדָע אֶלְמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה
 מִלְּמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה
 [מִלְּמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה] ⁹ מִלְּמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה
 אֶלְמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה ¹⁰ אֶלְמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה
 מִלְּמִישָׁה ¹¹ אֶלְמִישָׁה [מִלְּמִישָׁה] ¹² מִלְּמִישָׁה
 מִלְּמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה
 מִלְּמִישָׁה ¹³ [מִלְּמִישָׁה] ¹⁴ מִלְּמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה
 מִלְּמִישָׁה אֶלְמִישָׁה מִלְּמִישָׁה ¹⁵ [מִלְּמִישָׁה]

P وضعه. ³ Adds **ابن**. P **ابينا القديس الكريم بكل نوع**, and writes the name as **هر ياقوس**, and M 355 writes it *prima manu* as **هرياقوس**. ⁴ Adds

Has two headings and consequently

repeats some words. And P omits **مُذْبِنَةً**, for **الَّذِي** says **رَبَّنَا يَسُوعَ الْمَسِيحَ** for **الْعَبَادِ** writes **الْإِتْعَابِ**, for **الَّذِي** writes **الْبَنِي** and for **وَحَدِ** writes **وَالْمَسِيحَ**. ⁶ **وَحَدِ**. P omits. ⁷ Both omit. ⁸ **وَالْمَسِيحَ**.

مدينه المملكه وهناك اخذت راسه واكمل شهادته P is . معجب دانتس المصنف .

[illegible]

المعلمون في ذات الله الاحبار الفضلاء كتبها . 13 . 12 .

P omits. ¹⁴ Omits. ¹⁵ **ههـ**. ¹⁶ Both add **ههـ**.

۱ Omits. ۲ لکھنا یا لکھنے ہلکا لکھنے کے بعد م مامہ کے

⁸ Omits. ⁹ *ḥmḥd ḥd ḥmḥd ḥmḥd ḥmḥd*. P has in the

فلما سمعت امه ما كلمها به وعققته فرحت ومارت P. **הַסּ לַאֲמָתָא מְסַבֵּחַתָּהּ הַסּ**
לְאִמָּהּ ¹⁵ The order of the sentence is ¹⁴ **לְאִמָּהּ** ¹⁴ . תִּשְׁתֵּי הַדָּנוֹת מֵנֶה לֹא תִסְבַּח לֵה

17. **אֱלֹהֵינוּ** . 16. **וְלֹא מִלְּהֵם** . **אֲנִי** **קִמְּתִי** **מִן** **הַמָּוֶת** **וְאֵן** **יִשְׁבְּרוּנִי** .

يا ابني وحبیبی كما انعمت لی بنظر: **الصلیب** ¹⁸ **حصه** . All this sentence is in P .
قیامتک انعم لی ایضا ان تظهر لی الاسرار الذی عایتها منك وانت علی الصلیب معلما .

חַמְצָא אֲחֵי; עֵלְמָהּ. תְּתִיב הַלֵּל וְכִנְיָהּ אֵלֶּב [בִּלְבָּד
 לְרִנָּה עַד] * מִן: אֲמַחֲכִי מִלְּהָ אֵלֶּב עֵלְמָהּ סִיגִית חֲמִצָּה חֲמִצָּה
 חֲמִצָּה אֲחֵי וְכִנְיָהּ אֵלֶּב מִן סִיגִית מִן אֲחֵי
 עֵלְמָהּ אֲמַחֲכִי עֵלְמָהּ; אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי
 אֲמַחֲכִי אֲחֵי מִן אֲחֵי עַד אֲחֵי. [עַד מִן אֲחֵי] * אֲחֵי
 אֲחֵי עַד אֲחֵי; אֲחֵי; [7] אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי
 מִן אֲחֵי. אֲחֵי אֲחֵי מִן אֲחֵי; אֲחֵי; אֲחֵי; אֲחֵי; אֲחֵי;
 [אֲחֵי] * (sic) אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי עֵלְמָהּ לְרִנָּה אֲחֵי אֲחֵי
 תְּתִיב אֲחֵי אֲחֵי [מִן: אֲחֵי] * אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי; אֲחֵי;
 עֵלְמָהּ אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי [עֵלְמָהּ
 עֵלְמָהּ].¹¹ אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי
 אֲחֵי מִן [אֲחֵי אֲחֵי מִן אֲחֵי] ¹² מִן אֲחֵי אֲחֵי מִן אֲחֵי
 מִן אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ¹³ אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ¹⁴ אֲחֵי ¹⁵
 אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ¹⁶ אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי
 אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ¹⁷
 אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ¹⁸ אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ¹⁹. [אֲחֵי
 אֲחֵי אֲחֵי] ²⁰ אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ²¹ אֲחֵי ²² עֵלְמָהּ
 אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ²³ אֲחֵי אֲחֵי אֲחֵי ²⁴.

24 P مالهم.

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים [חֲסִידָיו] ¹ וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת הַקּוֹל אֶת הַמַּלְאָכִים
 עַד [מִן] ² מִיָּד הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ³ [הַיְּמָנִית]
 לֵאמֹר הָיָה [אֶת] הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ⁴ מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ⁵ . מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ⁶ [הַיְּמָנִית] ⁷ אֶת
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ⁸ אֶת הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ⁹ [אֶת] ¹⁰ מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ¹¹ [הַיְּמָנִית] ¹² מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ¹³ מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ¹⁴ [הַיְּמָנִית] מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ¹⁵ אֶת הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 [מִן] ¹⁶ . מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית (sic) מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ¹⁷ אֶת הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 [אֶת] ¹⁸ מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ¹⁹ אֶת הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ²⁰ . מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ²¹ [הַיְּמָנִית] מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ²² (sic) מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ²³ מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית . מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ²⁴ [הַיְּמָנִית] מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית
 מִן הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ²⁵ .

לֵאמֹר ⁴ . הַיָּד הַיְּמָנִית ³ . Both omit. ² . אֶת ¹ .

מִן ⁸ . Omits. ⁷ . אֶת ⁶ . Both ⁵ .

מִן ¹¹ . Both ¹⁰ . אֶת ⁹ . (sic) מִן ⁸ .

Both ¹³ . Both ¹² . אֶת ¹¹ . מִן ¹⁰ .

מִן ¹⁷ . Both ¹⁶ . P omits. ¹⁵ . P omits. ¹⁴ .

אֶת ²¹ . P ²⁰ . Adds ¹⁹ . Adds ¹⁸ .

Both add ²⁴ . Both add ²³ . אֶת ²² .

אֶת ²⁵ . Both omit. ²⁴ .

[וְאֵלֶּיךָ יָשָׁב וְלֹא יִשְׁכָּן בְּיָדֶיךָ] ¹ מִלֵּאָה הָיָה
 הַלֵּל מִלֵּאָה [וְיִשְׁכָּן בְּיָדֶיךָ] ² [וְיִשְׁכָּן בְּיָדֶיךָ] ³ אֵל
 [מִלֵּאָה] ⁴ מִלֵּאָה שֶׁנֶּאֱמָר [מִלֵּאָה] ⁵ מִלֵּאָה
 אֵלֶּיךָ יָשָׁב וְלֹא יִשְׁכָּן בְּיָדֶיךָ ⁶ מִלֵּאָה [מִלֵּאָה] ⁷ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה וְלֹא יִשְׁכָּן בְּיָדֶיךָ מִלֵּאָה [מִלֵּאָה] ⁸ מִלֵּאָה
 [מִלֵּאָה] ⁹ מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹⁰ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹¹ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹² מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹³ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹⁴ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹⁵ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹⁶ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹⁷ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹⁸ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ¹⁹ מִלֵּאָה
 מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה מִלֵּאָה ²⁰ מִלֵּאָה

1. אֵלֶּיךָ יָשָׁב וְלֹא יִשְׁכָּן בְּיָדֶיךָ. 2. אֵלֶּיךָ יָשָׁב וְלֹא יִשְׁכָּן בְּיָדֶיךָ. 3. Both מִלֵּאָה. 4. Both מִלֵּאָה. 5. Both מִלֵּאָה. 6. Omits. 7. Adds מִלֵּאָה. 8. P. מִלֵּאָה. 9. Inverts the order. 10. מִלֵּאָה. 11. Omits. 12. Adds מִלֵּאָה. 13. Omits. 14. P. מִלֵּאָה. 15. מִלֵּאָה. 16. Omits. 17. P. מִלֵּאָה. 18. Adds מִלֵּאָה. 19. Both מִלֵּאָה. 20. Both מִלֵּאָה.

[illegible]

مجلس 21. وهم يشكوا في

[الاصحاح] ¹ كنهان: الكنه منسوب ص. هـ [اصحاح] ² [اصحاح] ³
 ما صلاههم سلاسل سلاسل سلاسل سلاسل. هـ [اصحاح] ³
 ما [اصحاح] ⁴ [اصحاح] ⁴ [اصحاح] ⁴ [اصحاح] ⁴ [اصحاح] ⁴
 [اصحاح] ⁵ [اصحاح] ⁵ [اصحاح] ⁵ [اصحاح] ⁵ [اصحاح] ⁵
 [اصحاح] ⁶ [اصحاح] ⁶ [اصحاح] ⁶ [اصحاح] ⁶ [اصحاح] ⁶
 [اصحاح] ⁷ [اصحاح] ⁷ [اصحاح] ⁷ [اصحاح] ⁷ [اصحاح] ⁷
 [اصحاح] ⁸ [اصحاح] ⁸ [اصحاح] ⁸ [اصحاح] ⁸ [اصحاح] ⁸
 [اصحاح] ⁹ [اصحاح] ⁹ [اصحاح] ⁹ [اصحاح] ⁹ [اصحاح] ⁹
 [اصحاح] ¹⁰ [اصحاح] ¹⁰ [اصحاح] ¹⁰ [اصحاح] ¹⁰ [اصحاح] ¹⁰
 [اصحاح] ¹¹ [اصحاح] ¹¹ [اصحاح] ¹¹ [اصحاح] ¹¹ [اصحاح] ¹¹
 [اصحاح] ¹² [اصحاح] ¹² [اصحاح] ¹² [اصحاح] ¹² [اصحاح] ¹²
 [اصحاح] ¹³ [اصحاح] ¹³ [اصحاح] ¹³ [اصحاح] ¹³ [اصحاح] ¹³
 [اصحاح] ¹⁴ [اصحاح] ¹⁴ [اصحاح] ¹⁴ [اصحاح] ¹⁴ [اصحاح] ¹⁴
 [اصحاح] ¹⁵ [اصحاح] ¹⁵ [اصحاح] ¹⁵ [اصحاح] ¹⁵ [اصحاح] ¹⁵
 [اصحاح] ¹⁶ [اصحاح] ¹⁶ [اصحاح] ¹⁶ [اصحاح] ¹⁶ [اصحاح] ¹⁶
 [اصحاح] ¹⁷ [اصحاح] ¹⁷ [اصحاح] ¹⁷ [اصحاح] ¹⁷ [اصحاح] ¹⁷
 [اصحاح] ¹⁸ [اصحاح] ¹⁸ [اصحاح] ¹⁸ [اصحاح] ¹⁸ [اصحاح] ¹⁸
 [اصحاح] ¹⁹ [اصحاح] ¹⁹ [اصحاح] ¹⁹ [اصحاح] ¹⁹ [اصحاح] ¹⁹
 [اصحاح] ²⁰ [اصحاح] ²⁰ [اصحاح] ²⁰ [اصحاح] ²⁰ [اصحاح] ²⁰
 [اصحاح] ²¹ [اصحاح] ²¹ [اصحاح] ²¹ [اصحاح] ²¹ [اصحاح] ²¹

الحي الذي لا يموت وله الحياة الابدية وهو الذي ياخذ انفس الاحيا والاموات وهو P ¹
 ودينونه (sic) تكون P ⁴. هـ [اصحاح] ³. ص [اصحاح] ². المعطي الحياة
 Omits. ⁷ Omits. ⁶ Omits. ⁵ Omits. ⁴ Omits. ³ Omits. ² Omits. ¹ Omits.
 ص [اصحاح] ¹¹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁰. ص [اصحاح] ⁹. ص [اصحاح] ⁸. ص [اصحاح] ⁷. ص [اصحاح] ⁶. ص [اصحاح] ⁵. ص [اصحاح] ⁴. ص [اصحاح] ³. ص [اصحاح] ². ص [اصحاح] ¹.
 ص [اصحاح] ¹³. ص [اصحاح] ¹². ص [اصحاح] ¹¹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁰. ص [اصحاح] ⁹. ص [اصحاح] ⁸. ص [اصحاح] ⁷. ص [اصحاح] ⁶. ص [اصحاح] ⁵. ص [اصحاح] ⁴. ص [اصحاح] ³. ص [اصحاح] ². ص [اصحاح] ¹.
 والاخوان تسحبهم برجلهم على الارض ووجوههم ممرغين P ¹⁶. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁵. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁴. ص [اصحاح] ¹³. ص [اصحاح] ¹². ص [اصحاح] ¹¹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁰. ص [اصحاح] ⁹. ص [اصحاح] ⁸. ص [اصحاح] ⁷. ص [اصحاح] ⁶. ص [اصحاح] ⁵. ص [اصحاح] ⁴. ص [اصحاح] ³. ص [اصحاح] ². ص [اصحاح] ¹.
 ص [اصحاح] ¹⁸. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁷. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁶. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁵. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁴. ص [اصحاح] ¹³. ص [اصحاح] ¹². ص [اصحاح] ¹¹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁰. ص [اصحاح] ⁹. ص [اصحاح] ⁸. ص [اصحاح] ⁷. ص [اصحاح] ⁶. ص [اصحاح] ⁵. ص [اصحاح] ⁴. ص [اصحاح] ³. ص [اصحاح] ². ص [اصحاح] ¹.
 ص [اصحاح] ²⁰. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁸. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁷. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁶. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁵. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁴. ص [اصحاح] ¹³. ص [اصحاح] ¹². ص [اصحاح] ¹¹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁰. ص [اصحاح] ⁹. ص [اصحاح] ⁸. ص [اصحاح] ⁷. ص [اصحاح] ⁶. ص [اصحاح] ⁵. ص [اصحاح] ⁴. ص [اصحاح] ³. ص [اصحاح] ². ص [اصحاح] ¹.
 ص [اصحاح] ²¹. ص [اصحاح] ²⁰. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁸. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁷. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁶. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁵. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁴. ص [اصحاح] ¹³. ص [اصحاح] ¹². ص [اصحاح] ¹¹. ص [اصحاح] ¹⁰. ص [اصحاح] ⁹. ص [اصحاح] ⁸. ص [اصحاح] ⁷. ص [اصحاح] ⁶. ص [اصحاح] ⁵. ص [اصحاح] ⁴. ص [اصحاح] ³. ص [اصحاح] ². ص [اصحاح] ¹.

מאן דא פארמאנענדיגסטן און בעסטעם פארמאנענדיגסטן [און לאנגסטן] ¹.
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן (sic) פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן ³ פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ⁴ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ⁵
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ⁶ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ⁷
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ⁸ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ⁹
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹⁰ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹¹
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹² און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹³
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹⁴ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹⁵
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹⁶ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹⁷
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹⁸ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ¹⁹
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²⁰ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²¹
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²².

און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²³ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²⁴ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²⁵
 און פארמאנענדיגסטן און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²⁶ און פארמאנענדיגסטן ²⁷

מאן דא ¹ Omits. ² און פארמאנענדיגסטן. ³ Adds. ⁴ און פארמאנענדיגסטן. ⁵ Both. ⁶ Both add. ⁷ P. ⁸ Both. ⁹ Both. ¹⁰ Both. ¹¹ Both. ¹² Omits. ¹³ Both. ¹⁴ Both. ¹⁵ Omits. ¹⁶ Both. ¹⁷ Omits. ¹⁸ Both. ¹⁹ Adds. ²⁰ Omits. ²¹ P. ²² Both. ²³ Adds. ²⁴ Both. ²⁵ Omits. ²⁶ Omits. ²⁷ Adds.

נחל סלאה סנחאס. לז איה אהאנא [אנה: 1] א
 לא מנהא סנחאס לז אהאנא לז אהא [סנחא: 2] מנהא
 סלאה [3]. מנהא לז אהא [אנח: 4] סלאה
 סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס [5] סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס [6] סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 אהא [אנח: 7] סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס [8] אהא
 אהא [9] סנחאס סנחאס [10] סנחאס סנחאס. סנחאס
 אהא סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס אהא [11] סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס [12] סנחאס סנחאס (sic) סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס אהא אהא [13] סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס [14]. סנחאס אהא סנחאס סנחאס. סנחאס
 סנחאס סנחאס [15] סנחאס [16] סנחאס
 סנחאס סנחאס [17] אהא: סנחאס אהא: סנחאס
 סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס [18]
 סנחאס סנחאס [19] סנחאס אהא: סנחאס [20]

סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס. 1 Both omit. 2 אהא. 3 Adds סנחאס סנחאס
 ואנח אהא רסול. And P further adds: סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 אהא סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס
 סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס. 4 סנחאס. 5 Both add סנחאס.
 סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס סנחאס. 6 Both add
 סנחאס. 7 סנחאס. P and adds סנחאס. 8 Both
 סנחאס. 9 Omits. 10 Both סנחאס. 11 P סנחאס. 12 Omits. 13 Omits.
 סנחאס סנחאס. 14 סנחאס. And P adds סנחאס. 15
 סנחאס. 16 סנחאס. 17 Omits. 18 Both add סנחאס. 19
 20 Adds סנחאס followed by סנחאס.

طی ہجرت امام کے لیے الامتہ الہادیہ اُنہ کے علم الکلیات
میں نام کے حصہ [۱]۔

[illegible]

¹ Both add *هه* *لاامكه*. And P further adds *يا نعم*

٢ P. المقدس برفع جسدي . بيلاطس انزل الان من على الصليب ونحن نؤمن به هكذا

لیس انا ابکی الان یا سیدی لانی صلبت علی اسمک بل انا ابکی لانی ⁴ P ³ P omits.

یا سیدی دست و نهجست صلیک المقدس. لیس انا متاسف علی عونی یا سیدی بل انا

ابكى يا سيدى لكونك احتملت الالم عنا نحن الخطاة. ليس انا ابكى يا سيدى لاجل انهم

المسكينة ⁸ P. بل وعظم صليتك ⁷ P. بذاتي ⁶ P. omits. ⁵ P. صلبوني.

وان P adds ¹¹ . اعطيها نياحا وعزا في اليوم التي تأتي اليك P ¹⁰ . وثمرت احشائها P ⁹ .

قد سبق الان وجلست امام كرسي المحاكم قد سبقت ان توقد P adds¹². المحبة لله ابرقلا.

مباحك في عرس سيدك يسوع المسيح سبقت الان يا اخي بيلاطس واتكيت في وليمة

.الالف سنة

2 [2] ² ¹ ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵

- ¹ Both add ² Both ³ Both ⁴ P adds ⁵ P omits. ⁶ P omits. ⁷ P omits. ⁸ Adds ⁹ P omits and M 355 adds ¹⁰ P adds and M 355 ¹¹ P adds ¹² P ¹³ And P ¹⁴ P ¹⁵ P ¹⁶ Both ¹⁷ Both ¹⁸ Both omit. ¹⁹ P adds ²⁰ P adds ²¹ Adds ²² P omits all and reverses the order of the following sentences. ²³ ²⁴ P ²⁵ Adds

1. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־עַמּוּתוֹ. 2. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 3. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 4. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 5. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 6. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 7. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 8. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 9. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 10. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 11. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 12. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 13. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ. 14. וְלֹא־יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה אִישׁ אֶת־אֱלֹהֵי אֶמְלָתוֹ.

[illegible]

ط. ١٥٥. ⁴ P adds بار. ³ P omits. ² P omits. اما تدري ما فعل ¹ P

⁶ Both **Both**. ⁵ P تعمل. قتله بهوا، P.

7 Both **الاصول**. 8 **سيرة هولای وزوجته وابنه من قبله** P and M. 355

σΔ, 010. ' and P لم يمكنهم ان يتسلطوا and لم يمكنهم ان يتسلطوا

¹⁰ Both omit. ¹¹ Adds **ممنوع**. ¹² P هذه الذي هو رسول الملك.

١٦. كبرهك. ١٥. P adds طياربوس. ١٤. يطالع الملك ويخبره بامره P. ١٣. قسته P.

¹⁷ **አመጋገቢ**. The expressions are totally different in P. ¹⁸ P. **አጠጋቢ**.

١٩ P and M 355 and نزلت وجامت اليه P بعض الايام.

20 P omits.

1. חסדו מן השמים והוא האלהים 2. חסדו [המלך] 3. חסדו [המלך] 4. חסדו [המלך] 5. חסדו [המלך] 6. חסדו [המלך] 7. חסדו [המלך] 8. חסדו [המלך] 9. חסדו [המלך] 10. חסדו [המלך] 11. חסדו [המלך] 12. חסדו [המלך] 13. חסדו [המלך] 14. חסדו [המלך] 15. חסדו [המלך] 16. חסדו [המלך] 17. חסדו [המלך] 18. חסדו [המלך] 19. חסדו [המלך] 20. חסדו [המלך]

¹ Adds **والله** and P لاغير. ² **والله** and P adds **والله**.

³ P هو وامه. ⁴ Both omit. ⁵ استحي. ⁶ كثيرا. ⁷ Both استحي.

⁸ Adds **በሙሉ** ጥቅም. ⁹ Both **በሙሉ** ያሉ. ¹⁰ **የሆነ**. ¹¹ Both

الكرب وهد هس ¹³ Both add ¹² Both ¹¹ Both ¹⁰ Both ⁹ Both ⁸ Both ⁷ Both ⁶ Both ⁵ Both ⁴ Both ³ Both ² Both ¹ Both

ἰσχυρῶς. ¹⁴ Both omit. ¹⁵ Both add **καὶ ἡμεῖς**. ¹⁶ **καὶ**.

¹⁷ Both add ḥabib ḥabib. ¹⁸ Both add ḥabib ḥabib.

وَأَنَا أومن أن شيت: ¹⁹ P is till the end of the letter: **صبر هادي قد صحتك** 21/1/21

فرحمتك تدركني . وانت الذى يليق بك المجد مع ابيك العالم والروح القدس الى الابد آمين

20 Omits.

[illegible]

⁴ Adds **محبست**. ⁵ Both **حب الحبس**. ⁶ Adds **محب**.

²¹ Both add **اد جان لاهد لب اللهو بخر اللهو لا با احب اللهو**

and P alone ونور عيني. ¹² סגולת. ¹³ שגולת. ¹⁴ Both

[illegible]

[illegible]

18. [ചിഹ്നം] ക്രൈസ്തവർക്ക് മാത്രം ഉപയോഗിക്കാൻ പാടില്ല.

¹ Omits and الامر. ² سحبا مضمنا. ³ Both omit. ⁴ Both
صحبته. ⁵ P adds ان الجماعة الذين كانوا حضروا عليه and both invert the

order. ⁶ Adds **σσ** and P adds **في السجن**. ⁷ **وهم**.

⁸ Omits. ⁹ Both add **חַסְדֵּי הַלֵּל עַד הַלֵּל**. ¹⁰ Both

صرتهم P¹² and الوجع P¹¹ and الحبات هالكة¹¹. الصلابة انهم به.

¹³ Adds. ¹⁴ and P. هلاك اليهود الاشرار. ¹⁵ مكنه سلام الامم.

16 Both **وكل**. 17 **املك** and P **اتلعه**. 18 Omits and both add **الملك** **ان** and P alone **يوسف** **ينقوديموس**.

حله ان لا يملكه [1] من بعدك في ملكك
 ان يملكه [2] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [3] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [4] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [5] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [6] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [7] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [8] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [9] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [10] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [11] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [12] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [13] من بعدك في ملكك

من بعدك في ملكك [14] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [15] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [16] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [17] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [18] من بعدك في ملكك

من بعدك في ملكك [19] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [20] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [21] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [22] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [23] من بعدك في ملكك

من بعدك في ملكك [24] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [25] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [26] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [27] من بعدك في ملكك
 من بعدك في ملكك [28] من بعدك في ملكك

1. ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵

1 Both add ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵

הַלְכָה: הַלְכָה] ¹ מִבְּרֵית מִן אֲשֶׁר הָיוּ הַלְכָה
 לְהַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה הַלְכָה הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ² אֵין מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ³ הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁴ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁵
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁶ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁷ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁸ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁹ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁰ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹¹ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹² הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹³ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה

הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁴ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁵ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁶ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁷ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁸ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁹ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ²⁰ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה

הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ² Both omit. ³ P omits.
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁴ P omits. ⁵ P adds لانه يطلبها. ⁶ Both add מִן הַלְכָה.
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ⁷ Adds הַלְכָה. ⁸ Both omit. ⁹ Omits. ¹⁰ Adds
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹¹ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה. ¹² הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה. ¹³ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה. ¹⁴ Both omit.
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁵ הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה. ¹⁶ Both omit. ¹⁷ Both omit. ¹⁸ Both omit.
 הַלְכָה מִן הַלְכָה [הַלְכָה] ¹⁹ Both omit and P adds وقد تزايدت مجدا.

[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7] [8] [9] [10] [11] [12] [13] [14] [15] [16] [17] [18] [19] [20] [21]

- 1 Both omit. 2 Both add. 3 Both omit. 4 Both add. 5 Both add. 6 Both add. 7 Both add. 8 Both add. 9 Both add. 10 P and both add. 11 P and M 355 adds. 12 P omits. 13 Adds. 14 Both add. 15 P is totally different. 16 Adds. 17 Adds. 18 Both omit. 19 P is differently worded. 20 Both add. 21 Both add.

[בא הלבב מלך מעבדו] ¹. הלאי בן הלבב אסל ² [2] מציא
 לזאת עד אשר: [3] ³ משה [4] אלהים.
 לו יבנה אלהי לבב הנהם מהמהו מציז חס אב
 אדם שם: שם: [5] אלהים. [6] ⁶ אלהים. [7] ⁷ אלהים. [8] ⁸ אלהים. [9] ⁹ אלהים. [10] ¹⁰ אלהים. [11] ¹¹ אלהים. [12] ¹² אלהים. [13] ¹³ אלהים.
 אלהים [14] ¹⁴ אלהים. [15] ¹⁵ אלהים. [16] ¹⁶ אלהים. [17] ¹⁷ אלהים. [18] ¹⁸ אלהים. [19] ¹⁹ אלהים. [20] ²⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [21] ²¹ אלהים. [22] ²² אלהים. [23] ²³ אלהים. [24] ²⁴ אלהים. [25] ²⁵ אלהים. [26] ²⁶ אלהים. [27] ²⁷ אלהים. [28] ²⁸ אלהים. [29] ²⁹ אלהים. [30] ³⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [31] ³¹ אלהים. [32] ³² אלהים. [33] ³³ אלהים. [34] ³⁴ אלהים. [35] ³⁵ אלהים. [36] ³⁶ אלהים. [37] ³⁷ אלהים. [38] ³⁸ אלהים. [39] ³⁹ אלהים. [40] ⁴⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [41] ⁴¹ אלהים. [42] ⁴² אלהים. [43] ⁴³ אלהים. [44] ⁴⁴ אלהים. [45] ⁴⁵ אלהים. [46] ⁴⁶ אלהים. [47] ⁴⁷ אלהים. [48] ⁴⁸ אלהים. [49] ⁴⁹ אלהים. [50] ⁵⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [51] ⁵¹ אלהים. [52] ⁵² אלהים. [53] ⁵³ אלהים. [54] ⁵⁴ אלהים. [55] ⁵⁵ אלהים. [56] ⁵⁶ אלהים. [57] ⁵⁷ אלהים. [58] ⁵⁸ אלהים. [59] ⁵⁹ אלהים. [60] ⁶⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [61] ⁶¹ אלהים. [62] ⁶² אלהים. [63] ⁶³ אלהים. [64] ⁶⁴ אלהים. [65] ⁶⁵ אלהים. [66] ⁶⁶ אלהים. [67] ⁶⁷ אלהים. [68] ⁶⁸ אלהים. [69] ⁶⁹ אלהים. [70] ⁷⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [71] ⁷¹ אלהים. [72] ⁷² אלהים. [73] ⁷³ אלהים. [74] ⁷⁴ אלהים. [75] ⁷⁵ אלהים. [76] ⁷⁶ אלהים. [77] ⁷⁷ אלהים. [78] ⁷⁸ אלהים. [79] ⁷⁹ אלהים. [80] ⁸⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [81] ⁸¹ אלהים. [82] ⁸² אלהים. [83] ⁸³ אלהים. [84] ⁸⁴ אלהים. [85] ⁸⁵ אלהים. [86] ⁸⁶ אלהים. [87] ⁸⁷ אלהים. [88] ⁸⁸ אלהים. [89] ⁸⁹ אלהים. [90] ⁹⁰ אלהים.
 אלהים [91] ⁹¹ אלהים. [92] ⁹² אלהים. [93] ⁹³ אלהים. [94] ⁹⁴ אלהים. [95] ⁹⁵ אלהים. [96] ⁹⁶ אלהים. [97] ⁹⁷ אלהים. [98] ⁹⁸ אלהים. [99] ⁹⁹ אלהים. [100] ¹⁰⁰ אלהים.

¹ Both אלהים. ² P וזאת אלהים. ³ Both omit. ⁴ P עד. ⁵ Both add אלהים. ⁶ P עד. ⁷ Both add אלהים. ⁸ Both add אלהים. ⁹ P אלהים. ¹⁰ P יסוע המסע. ¹¹ Both add אלהים. ¹² Both אלהים. ¹³ Both omit and P אלהים. ¹⁴ Both אלהים. ¹⁵ Both אלהים. ¹⁶ אלהים. ¹⁷ P worded differently, אלהים. ¹⁸ Both אלהים. ¹⁹ P אלהים. ²⁰ P אלהים. ²¹ Both אלהים. ²² Both אלהים. ²³ Both אלהים. ²⁴ Both אלהים. ²⁵ Both אלהים. ²⁶ Both אלהים. ²⁷ Both אלהים. ²⁸ Both אלהים. ²⁹ Both אלהים. ³⁰ Both אלהים. ³¹ Both אלהים. ³² Both אלהים. ³³ Both אלהים. ³⁴ Both אלהים. ³⁵ Both אלהים. ³⁶ Both אלהים. ³⁷ Both אלהים. ³⁸ Both אלהים. ³⁹ Both אלהים. ⁴⁰ Both אלהים. ⁴¹ Both אלהים. ⁴² Both אלהים. ⁴³ Both אלהים. ⁴⁴ Both אלהים. ⁴⁵ Both אלהים. ⁴⁶ Both אלהים. ⁴⁷ Both אלהים. ⁴⁸ Both אלהים. ⁴⁹ Both אלהים. ⁵⁰ Both אלהים. ⁵¹ Both אלהים. ⁵² Both אלהים. ⁵³ Both אלהים. ⁵⁴ Both אלהים. ⁵⁵ Both אלהים. ⁵⁶ Both אלהים. ⁵⁷ Both אלהים. ⁵⁸ Both אלהים. ⁵⁹ Both אלהים. ⁶⁰ Both אלהים. ⁶¹ Both אלהים. ⁶² Both אלהים. ⁶³ Both אלהים. ⁶⁴ Both אלהים. ⁶⁵ Both אלהים. ⁶⁶ Both אלהים. ⁶⁷ Both אלהים. ⁶⁸ Both אלהים. ⁶⁹ Both אלהים. ⁷⁰ Both אלהים. ⁷¹ Both אלהים. ⁷² Both אלהים. ⁷³ Both אלהים. ⁷⁴ Both אלהים. ⁷⁵ Both אלהים. ⁷⁶ Both אלהים. ⁷⁷ Both אלהים. ⁷⁸ Both אלהים. ⁷⁹ Both אלהים. ⁸⁰ Both אלהים. ⁸¹ Both אלהים. ⁸² Both אלהים. ⁸³ Both אלהים. ⁸⁴ Both אלהים. ⁸⁵ Both אלהים. ⁸⁶ Both אלהים. ⁸⁷ Both אלהים. ⁸⁸ Both אלהים. ⁸⁹ Both אלהים. ⁹⁰ Both אלהים. ⁹¹ Both אלהים. ⁹² Both אלהים. ⁹³ Both אלהים. ⁹⁴ Both אלהים. ⁹⁵ Both אלהים. ⁹⁶ Both אלהים. ⁹⁷ Both אלהים. ⁹⁸ Both אלהים. ⁹⁹ Both אלהים. ¹⁰⁰ Both אלהים.

[illegible]

¹⁶ Omits. ¹⁷ Both add מַלְאָכִים מְחֻסְרֵי חַיִּים. ¹⁸ Both add in more or less similar terms : מַלְאָכִים בְּאֶחָד מֵאַרְבָּעֵה עָשָׂר מִן הַמַּלְאָכִים הַנִּזְכָּרִים בְּפֶתִיחַ סוּפֵר הַמִּגְדָּלוֹת.

סמלסס סד אכרס סכ סכסס סד אלא סלסס [סס] ¹.
 סכסס סס סכססס סכסס סססס סססס סססס סססס סססס
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 סססס סססס סססס סססס [2] סס ססס סכסס סכסס
 סססס [3] סס סכסס סכססס [4]. [סכססס סכססס סססס] ⁵
 סכסס סססס סכססס [סכססס סססס] ⁶.

ססס סס סכסס סכססס סכסס סכססס סכססס סכססס
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 סכססס [9] סס סכסס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס

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 סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס. P is : שססס סכססס סכססס
 שססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס

طاهرة بلا دنس لم ينفك خاتم بتوليها واسم تلك العذرى مريم وهي من نسل داوود النبي. قال
 له الملك فلما ولدته ونشا على الارض كم كان مدة مقامه على الارض

Both add ². شخصه and P ³ Adds. Both add ⁴. Both add ⁵.

סכסס סכסססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס
 (טפאלסס) סס סכסססס סכססס. [סכססס סכססס סכססס] (P omits)
 סכסססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס
 סכססס. The last sentence is in P. סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס

عوضا عنه وما صنعت به انا ايضا اصنع بك P ⁶. Both omit. ⁷. تزعمت من امره.

סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס
 סכסססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס
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 סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס. Adds ⁸. סכססס סכססס סכססס
 סכססס סכססס סכססס. Adds ⁹. סכססס סכססס סכססס סכססס

1 [מִשְׁמַח הַמִּשְׁמָחָה] 2 [וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַח הַמִּשְׁמָחָה] 3 [וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַח הַמִּשְׁמָחָה] 4 [וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַח הַמִּשְׁמָחָה] 5 [וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַח הַמִּשְׁמָחָה] 6 [וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַח הַמִּשְׁמָחָה]

[illegible]

¹ Both omit. ² الملاحم المصنف. ³ P لكي يصنع معي رحمة في

M 355, and يوم الحكم المروء واغخلص من الشؤر و الخطايا التي صنعتها مع غير هواي كما يعلم والتفت وقال للاجناد اتنوا ما اورتم P⁴ . **لحم مهاد فمكلاسا لحم مكمل**
به وهكذي صلوة الاجناد للوقت كامر الملك ثم بعد ذلك قطعوا راسه بحد السيف وكان تمام شهادته في تلك الساعة في اليوم الخامس عشر من بوونه وتكل بالاكيل المجد في ملكوت السموات صلاته وشفاعته تجعل لنا معه حظ ونصيب حيث سيدتنا كنا والددة الاله العذرى مريم وكافة الشهداء
P proceeds (معامل) for **صومس** M omits all this but has also **والقديسين آمين**. The
ثم من بعد ما اكمل جهاده حملوا جسده المقدس الى يورشليم كما اشار وعند وصولهم به
The text of M 355 is similar to that of M 127 with the exception that he uses the
لعمسه⁶ . **للملح**, **الملك**, **الحص**, **حصا**, **احبا** first pers. plur.
ثم بعد دهنهما ارسل P⁷ . **لللس مكبلا** . **احله** Adds P⁶ . So also P.

⁸ Adds **መገናኛው መገንባት**. ⁹ P **ከሁሉም**.

1. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 1.
 2. [مَنْ يَكُونُ فِي الْمَلِكِ] 2. [مَنْ يَكُونُ فِي الْمَلِكِ] 2.
 3. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 3.
 4. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 4.
 5. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 5.
 6. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 6.
 7. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 7.
 8. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 8.
 9. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 9.
 10. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 10.
 11. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 11.

12. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 12.
 13. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 13.
 14. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 14.
 15. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 15.
 16. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 16.
 17. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 17.
 18. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 18.
 19. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 19.
 20. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 20.
 21. [وَأَمَّا أَنْتَ يَا كَلْبُ بَعْدَ أَنْ يَنْقُضَ مِنْ [مَلِكِ الْمَسْخُورِ مَلِكِ] 21.

1. امه لنظرها فانه بلغنى 2. Omits. 3. قد قتلت الوالى الذى مكنهم من مله 1

4. Omits. 7. Omits. كل من يراها يكرمها ويحترمها ولا 6. فخصرها الى عندنا 5

8. ملك 11 ودايات وازمة 10. عليه كثيرا 9. فلما سمع الملك هذا الكلام من زوجته 8

12. Omits. 13. Omits. 14. Adds الجوايز الحسنة 14. مرميم 13. الملوك العخلص 12

15. Omits. 16. Omits. 17. Adds التي تفعل 17. امي الحبيبة انك اقمي 18. التي تفعل 17

19. Omits. 20. Adds معي 20. كنيسة 21. معي 20

١. [الاصب] ١. لخصب في [الكباب] ٢. صلب لا يك منا
 [ذامس] ٣. من الكسب عد بهو الكركت هتلمب لامله صلب
 [كك صلب] الكسب [الكباب] ٤. لخصب [ما الكباب] من الكسب
 لا يك لداك هكرب عد صلبه لالاصب سول صلب
 لا يك هكرب هكرب هكرب الك الكالك [الاصب] ٥. لخصب
 من الكسب كك كك كك [ما كك] هكرب [كك كك] صلب
 ككرب هكرب ككرب ٦. هكرب كك كك كك هكرب
 كك من الكالك. صلب [ما الكباب] من الكك [كك] ٧
 [الاصب] هكرب هكرب هكرب هكرب هكرب [الاصب].
 [ما الكباب] اصب لاهل هكرب [كك كك] ٨. او كك [الاصب]
 هكرب [الاصب] كك كك او كك كك كك. [ما الكباب]
 كك هكرب لا يك هكرب [الاصب] اصب من كك كك كك
 هكرب ٩. صلب [ما الكباب] هكرب هكرب لا يك ٩
 كك [الاصب] كك كك كك ١٠. كك كك هكرب
 هكرب كك. كك [ما كك] كك كك ١١. هكرب
 [الاصب] ١٢. او كك كك [الاصب] كك كك كك
 كك كك كك ١٣. او كك كك كك هكرب كك كك
 [كك كك كك] ١٤. او كك كك كك كك كك كك
 كك كك [ما كك] ١٥. [الاصب] كك كك كك كك
 كك ١٦. كك كك كك كك كك كك كك كك
 كك كك. هكرب كك كك ١٧. كك كك كك [كك كك]
 هكرب [الاصب] ١٨. كك كك كك كك كك كك.

وحزن قلبك لاجلي ٦. لتعزي في ملكوتي ٤. نالك ٣. امي ٢. Omits. ١

لتعزي ٦. فاسرعي الآن وامضي معي الى مواضع النياح والفرح الابدی وامكن التهليل والراحة

Omits. ٥. على جبل ٧. عوضا عن دموعك وتظنني في مجد ابي

حتى تسمعني طيب نغمات تسابيح الشارويم والسارافيم عوضا عن نحيب الحلو ١٠. the order.

ارتفعت ١٥. Omits. ١٤. على اجنحة الكارويم ١٣. Omits. ١٢. لوالده ١١. يرتلوا.

من نظروا ذلك ١٨. حزنا ١٧. عنا لانها ١٥.

הַיְיחֲסוּת הַמַּחֲכִי מֵאֵלָּה בִּי [אֲסֻבָּה] ¹ אֲנִי חָתָם לֹא מֵרֵוֶה לִּי
 אֲנִי חָתָם הַכֶּבֶד מִבְּרֵחַ [כִּי שֶׁהָיָה מֵהַיָּד לְחִסּוֹן מִלֵּב
 מִפְּחָה הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד [אֲסֻבָּה] ² לֹא שֶׁהָיָה מִבְּרֵחַ
 שֶׁהָיָה לְחִסּוֹן [אֲסֻבָּה] הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד ³ הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד
 לְחִסּוֹן הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד [אֲסֻבָּה] לֹא בִּי מֵהַיָּד ⁴ לְחִסּוֹן
 הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד [אֲסֻבָּה] הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד ⁵ לְחִסּוֹן
 מִפְּחָה [אֲסֻבָּה] לְחִסּוֹן הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד הַכֶּבֶד ⁶
 מִבְּרֵחַ הַכֶּבֶד .

[כֹּה אֵינְהֶם בְּחַסֵּד אֲבָבִי] ⁷ אֲבָבִי אֲהַבְתִּי אֶלְלֵךְ אֶלְלֵךְ
 [וְאֵינְהֶם] ⁸ אֵינְהֶם [אֲהַבְתִּי] ⁹ אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי
 מִבְּחַסֵּד מִבְּחַסֵּד. אֲהַבְתִּי אֶלְלֵךְ אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי מִבְּחַסֵּד
 אֲהַבְתִּי ^[10] אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי
 אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי
 [אֲהַבְתִּי] ¹¹ אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי [אֲהַבְתִּי] ¹² אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי
 אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[13] אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[14]
 אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי. אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[15]
 אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[16] אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי
 אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[17] אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[18]
 אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי
 אֲהַבְתִּי ^[19] אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[20] אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי
 אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי ^[21] אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי אֲהַבְתִּי

لأنها ليس انتقلت من هذا العالم لتعب لكنها مضت لتستريح الى مساكن² Omits¹.
وأنا عزيتها بهذا كي⁵. قبل ان⁴. وكما رايتموها صاعدة³. النياح والحياة والسرور الدائم
ليس اني ارسلكم⁷. النياح والحياة الدائمة. انا عزيتها بهذا حتى انها تعلم⁶. تطوف
الاطفال المولودين¹¹. احبا¹⁰ Adds¹⁰. Omits⁹. ونظرتهم⁸. دفع كيرة
هوذا¹⁵. والبكاء والكابة والتعب والمشقة التي نالتهم¹⁴. قلبها¹³. على سواعدها ايضا¹²
كما يجب لها على الارض¹⁷. يقدر¹⁶ Adds¹⁶. ملوك العالم يريدون يدعوها ويعطوها
السماء²¹. الرب²⁰. Omits¹⁹. امامها¹⁸.

[1] ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³

1 Adds أقسم. 2 قط. 3 اصدقاً إليه. 4 Omits. 5 Adds العظيمة. 6 Adds الإلهي. 7 من. 8 اللتان. 9 قانا. 10 Adds and ونحن معه. 11 Omits. 12 Omits. 13 مكان. 14 يجعلوها. 15 Omits. 16 مكان. 17 Omits. 18 ينبغي لك. 19 اعني الاله واعماله التي. 20 عند صلبه. 21 وهو على عود. 22 Omits. 23 Omits. 24 كيف طعنوه في جنبه الالهى بالحرية والاتعاب التي قبلها عن خلاص العالم and الصليب. 25 كله.

الملكرواياه: انك لست كسب [سقف] ¹ مملكة من الانعام سلب
 موهذ نكس [ملاك المصطفى] ² سلب طار نكس [موهذ الملك] ³.
 ان [الملكوه] ⁴ ملسا ⁵ موهذ المصطفى [مسل] ⁶ موهذ
 لست الملكرواياه [مسل الملك الانعام] ⁷ ملسا [موهذ] ⁸ موهذ
 املاك زامس [نكس] ⁹ لست ملسا [مسل] ¹⁰ ملسا [مسل] ¹¹ ملسا
 ملسا ¹² ملسا [مسل] ¹³ ملسا [مسل] ¹⁴ ملسا [مسل] ¹⁵ ملسا
 الملكوه ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا.

مسل ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا
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 ملسا ²² ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا ملسا
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¹ Omits.² صورة الخالص ومثاله.³ الصليب المقدس.⁴ Omits.⁵ له الجسد كما⁶ Omits.⁷ Omits.⁸ على الصورة.⁹ Omits.¹⁰ التفتت شفتي الخالص له الجسد¹¹ Adds موهذ¹² Adds ابن الله الحي¹³ Omits.¹⁴ Adds قد كان ينبغي لك اذ انت حبيباً لي ان لا تعطيني بعد قيامتي من بين¹⁵ الاموات لكن¹⁶ تصنع صورتي بعد¹⁷ كالهية التي قمت بها من¹⁸ ولا تصنعها¹⁹ تعود انت²⁰ لان اليهود ملبوني²¹ لان Add²² كالهية التي رايتني فيها²³ ثانياً تعطيني²⁴ Omits.²⁵ Omits.²⁶ Omits.²⁷ Omits.²⁸ اسمي يهودي²⁹ Add الى الموت

אנא לחמא בא בשביל הכתר הכר סוכא כר סוכא^[1] עד
 מהם [הכסאם] ² [אז מהם] מה שב האמהל הלא לישב בא
 בשביל מה המד הקלס. אחמא בא בשביל אן סאמאם בא
 שוב מהם אז לישב המהם^[3].

ותן מן בא הכסאם [חסם] ⁴. הלמא [זאב המלך] ותן
 הכסא [הכסאם] ⁵ זך המס [מלכס מלכ] ⁶ סמאם^[7] סמאם
 זאב בשביל סוכא מהם באסמס אנא לחמא [הכר] ⁸ מהם
 [המס] ⁹ הכר בא מסס סאם סוכא. סאב המלך סוכא
 [המס] ¹⁰ סמאם סאמאם סוכא [הב דאב] ¹¹ עד בכר
 המלך סוכא סוכא אב המס עד סאב [הכסאם] ¹² סאם
 המלך סוכא^[13] בשביל סוכא סוכא [סוכא] ¹⁴ סוכא
 [סוכא] ¹⁵ סאב מסס סוכא. סמאם בשביל סוכא [סוכא] ¹⁶
 המס [סוכא] ¹⁷ סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא
 [סוכא] ¹⁸ סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא
 [סוכאם] ¹⁹ סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא [סוכאם] ²⁰ סוכא
 [הכסאם] ²¹ סוכא סוכא סוכא ²² [הכסאם] ²³ סוכא.

סוכא ותן סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא
 [סוכא] ²⁴ סוכא [סוכא] ²⁵ סוכא סוכא
 בשביל סוכא סוכא [סוכא] ²⁶ סוכא סוכא סוכא
 [סוכא] ²⁷ סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא
 [סוכא] ²⁸ סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא
 [סוכא] ²⁹ סוכא סוכא סוכא סוכא

¹ Adds העזרי. ² من الموتي هو كان مثل هذا اليوم. ³ Omits all.

⁴ عقاله. ⁵ سمع الملك هذا الكلام العجيب. ⁶ تقول ليوحنا ثم خفي عنهم الصوت.

⁷ الارمن ¹² تيدا ¹¹ Omits. ¹⁰ Omits. ⁹ Omits. ⁸ قابما على رجليه. ⁷ Adds

وللوقت ¹⁷ من. ¹⁶ Omits. ¹⁵ Omits. ¹⁴ Omits. ¹³ Add المغبوط. ¹² الى يومنا هذا

من. ²² Omits. ²¹ فعلة بارض. ²⁰ Omits. ¹⁹ Omits. ¹⁸ اختطف المغبوط.

عند ذلك ²⁸ Omits. ²⁷ نيمر. ²⁶ انا قد راينا. ²⁵ وكانوا. ²⁴ Omits. ²³

لا يوصف ²⁹ Adds. حضرت اليهم سيدتنا كنا العزرى مترميم.

- P. L. or N.
 540, n. 4, **الحب**
 l. 9, for **سوم** has: **موم**
 l. 20, before **نابست** has: **طام**
 541, n. 13, has **احات** for: **حب**
 ll. 15, 16, omits them.
 l. 19, for **حكي** has: **و**
 542, n. 13, omits all its text.
 l. 17, after **سوم** adds: **الكلمت**
 543, l. 3, omits: **الحب**
 l. 6, **صعد الناز**
 544, l. 5, after **ت** adds: **الام**
 l. 20, omits: **ك**
 545, l. 4, for **سوم** has: **موم**
 l. 8, for **احات** has: **سوم**
 l. 19, for **الكلمت** has: **الكلمت**
 546, n. 7, adds: **سوم**
 l. 11, for **سوم** has: **سوم**
 l. 15, for **الكلمت** has: **الكلمت**
 547, l. 1, for **سوم** has: **سوم**
 l. 6, for **سوم** has: **سوم**
 l. 8, before **سوم** has: **حب**
 548, l. 1, omits: **سوم**
 l. 13, for **سوم** has: **سوم**
 549, l. 7, for **سوم** has: **سوم**
 550, l. 5, for **الكلمت** has: **الكلمت**
 l. 10, for **الكلمت** has: **الكلمت**

HAND-LIST OF ADDITIONS TO THE COLLECTION OF LATIN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS LIBRARY, 1908-1928.

By MOSES TYSON, M.A., PH.D.

KEEPER OF WESTERN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE JOHN RYLANDS
LIBRARY.

THIS hand-list revises and brings up to date the hand-list compiled by Dr. Robert Fawtier¹ in 1921. Short descriptions are given of 211 Latin manuscripts which have been acquired by the Library since 1908. Whenever possible the provenance of a manuscript is indicated, and the old numbers of the Squire MSS. and of the important group of manuscripts formerly in the library of Sir Thomas Phillipps are also noted.

The Squire MSS., comprising Rylands Latin MSS. Nos. 224, 252, 258-332, were evidently collected for the most part by Scipio Squire,² a vice-chamberlain of the Treasury of the Exchequer under James I. and Charles I. They mainly consist, with certain important exceptions, of transcripts and notes made in the early seventeenth century. The collection was found in a solicitor's office in Lincoln's Inn.

The valuable collection of royal account-books, comprised by Nos. 230-242, was acquired from Major Heneage of Coker Court, near Yeovil, Somerset. Two members of the Heneage family—Thomas Heneage, a vice-chamberlain of the household of Queen Elizabeth and a treasurer of the Queen's chamber, and Michael, his brother,—were Keepers of the Records in the Tower.

In the following list the number [R . . .] is the library accession

¹ *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, Vol. 6, pp. 186-206. This deals with additions between 1908 and 1920.

² For Scipio Squire see Dr. Fawtier's account (*ibid.*, pp. 187-191) and the note by Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup (*ibid.*, Vol. 7, pp. 141-142).

number, the preceding number is the Latin MSS. number. Other numbers, given in brackets [], belong to an old classification now discontinued. Brief titles have been assigned to manuscripts in which no titles are found.

- 184 [R. 45317]. *Biblia sacra*.
Vell. ff. 550 + 7 + 3. 117.5 × 78 mm. xivth cent. France.
- 185 [R. 32826]. *Thomas Wallensis. In Isaiam liber commentarius*.
Vell. ff. 8. 203 × 139 mm. xvth cent. England.
- 186 [190] [R. 33761]. *Missale Eboracense—Missale Lincolnense*.
Vell. ff. 137 + 2. 291 × 199 mm. xii-xvth cent. England.
- 187 [R. 48224]. *Pontificale Romanum parvum*.
Vell. ff. 34. 155 × 108 mm. xvth cent. France.
- 188 [R. 45191]. (Phillipps. 445.) *Breviarium Praemonstratense*.
Vell. ff. 276 + 4. 118 × 84 mm. Early xvth cent. Germany.
- 189 [R. 45189]. (Phillipps. 1249.) *Collectaneum Cisterciense*.
Vell. ff. 123 + 4. 239 × 170 mm. xvth cent. France or Switzerland. xv-xvith cent. German binding.
- 190 [R. 40338]. *Liturgica Cisterciensia*.
Regulae generales divinum celebrandi officium.—Collectaneum.—Forma Baptizandi.—Directorium.
Pap. ff. 130 + 4. 143 × 95 mm. 1652. Germany. From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead.
- 191 [R. 32526]. *Horae (Sarum)*.
Vell. ff. 133 + 4. 183 × 128 mm. xvth cent. England.
Flemish school miniatures.
- 192 [R. 45316]. *Beda. De tabernaculis et vasis et vestibus sacerdotia*.
Vell. ff. 90 + 4. 186 × 128 mm. Late xiith or early xiiith cent. England.
- 193 [R. 33826]. *Libellus de computo ecclesiastico*.
Inc. Cum inter cetera scholaris disciplinae studia. . . .
Imperfect at the end and bound out of order.
Vell. ff. 59 + 4. 171 × 122 mm. xiiith cent. France (?). From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.
- 194 [247] [R. 26214]. (Phillipps. 765.) *Isidori opera et S. Bernardi vita*.
A letter of Isidore to Bp. Masona.—Isidore. *De Summo Bono*.—Isidore. *Synonima*.
A collection of theological quotations.
S. Bernardi Clarevallensis vita (prima).
Vell. ff. 145. 350 × 225 mm. xvth cent. France (Abbaye de Royaumont).
- 195 [R. 48220]. [S. Anselmus, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus.] *Humilis et vera confessio et devota meditatio et oratio penitentis psalmum quinquagesimum exponendo*.
[Wrongly ascribed to Hugh of St. Victor by the MS.]
Vell. ff. 22 + 1 + 1. 213 × 148 mm. xvth cent. France.

- 196 [R. 36437]. Walter Daniel. *Centum sententiae et sermones*.
Vell. 45 + 1. 252 × 156 mm. xii-xiiith cent. England (Abbey of Rievaulx).
- 197 [R. 35253]. Petrus de Tarentasia. *Super libros III et IV Sententiarum*.
Vell. ff. 285. 242 × 166 mm. Early xivth cent. France (Amiens?).
- 198 [R. 44706]. Laurentius Opimus. *Super Sententias*.
Vell. and pap. ff. 171. 288 × 217 mm. xivth cent. Italy. From the library of Lord Vernon.
- 199 [R. 38270]. Donatus Devotionis cum quatuor conjugationibus de regula bene viventiam.
Inc. Prol. Sine intermissione orate. Evangelica clamat historia. . . .
Text. Partes oracionis quot sunt? Octo. Que? Deuocio. . . .
des. . . . A seculo placuerunt et in secula seculorum laudabunt cui debetur omnis laus, . . . Explicit Donatus deuocionis cum quatuor conjugacionibus de regula bene viuere volentium compilatus a quodam claustrali, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo tricesimo.
Vell. ff. 131 + 2. 242 × 162 mm. xvth cent. England (?). xvi-xviiith cent. English binding. From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.
- 200 [R. 42406]. (Phillipps. 599.) Hubertinus de Casali. *Arbor crucifixae vitae Jesu*.
Pap. ff. 454 + 2 + 2. 288 × 199 mm. xvth cent. Low Countries. xvth cent. binding.
- 201 [R. 39882]. *Miscellanea*.
(fol. 5b) *Contenta in isto volumine:*
In primo septem petitiones orationis dominice secundum Johannem Waldeley (Waldeby);
Tractatus super 12 articulos fidei secundum eundem Johannem Waldeley;
Quinque omelie super quinque verba salutationis angelice secundum fratrem Johannem ordinis heremitarum beati Augustini [John Waldeby];
Liber exemplorum magistri iacobi de Vitriaco;
Tractatus de vitiiis et virtutibus et dicitur scrutator viciorum et de remediis contra peccata mortalia [Robert Grosseteste];
Tractatus de 10 mandatis.
The MS. also contains some fragments in English (a prophecy, a medical receipt) and a short quotation of Henry de Costesey's *De utilitate psalmodum davidicorum*.
Pap. and vell. ff. 250 + 2. 212 × 145 mm. xivth cent. England.
- 202 [R. 44790]. *Miscellanea Franciscana*.
Franciscus de Platea. Tractatus usurarum—S. Bonaventura. Meditatio de quatuor exercitiis mentalibus.—Pius et devotum exercitium divinitus edoctum de centum doloribus Christi et Virginis.—Versus de Passione Christi.—Decem precepta decalogi secundum dominum Franciscum Mayronem, O.M.—Tractatus usurarum editus per . . .

Johannem de Prato, O.M.—Tractatus domini Bartoli de duobus fratribus.—Additiones factae ad idem per dominum Baldum de Perusio, de hiis quae expendit filius circa patrimonium patris.

Vell. ff. 171 + 6. 123 × 88 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

203 [R. 33818/1]. *Miscellanea.*

Alcuinus. De virtutibus et vitiis.—De XII lapidibus pretiosis qui ponuntur in fundamento celestis Jerusalem. *Inc.* Jaspis primus ponitur . . . *des* . . . Christum filium dei et sanctum stephanum.—Crisosthomus. De naturis bestiarum.—Fragments of Hugh of St. Victor's *Miscellanea*.—Liber beati Cypriani de duodecim abusionibus.—Filia Magistri.—Breviloquium bone fortune (St. Bonaventure).

Vell. ff. 319. 170 × 124 mm. xii-xvth cent. N. France. (Abbaye de Cambron). xvth cent. French binding. From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.

204 [R. 33818/2]. *Miscellanea.*

Sermones (Geoffroy Babion, Hildebert de Lavardin, Hugh of St. Victor).—Liber Sponsa.—Honoré d'Autun. Speculum Ecclesiae.—Magister Hugo. De Trinitate.—Sermones (Garnier de Rochefort)—Glosae hebraicae-latinae.—S. Salonii. Exposito mystica in Salomonis parabola.—A dialogue between Nature and Providence. *Inc.* Congeries in-formis . . . *des* . . . et sulphuris recognovit.—An imperfect (at the beginning) treatise on Moon, Man, and the World. *des* . . . transformabilis ex usüs substantialibus.

Vell. ff. 266. 170 × 117 mm. xiii-xvth cent. N. France. (Abbaye de Cambron.) xvth cent. French binding. The title *Dicite pusillanimos* written on vellum and fixed under transparent piece of horn by brass mounting on back of lower cover. From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.

205 [R. 32957]. *Miscellanea.*

Part of a treatise on Cosmogony.—A fragment of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*.—De purgatorio S. Patricii.—The legend of Adam's penance.—An explanation of the Origin of Tithes.—Summary and abstracts from Isidore's *Questiones in Genesim*.—The legend of Gerbert taken from William of Malmesbury.—Petrus Alphonsus. *Disciplina clericalis*.—Accounts of Peter de Gonnevill, a canon of Salisbury for the years 1303-1310.

Vell. ff. 64. 176 × 134 mm. xiii cent. England.

206 [R. 33827]. Alexander de Villa Dei. *Doctrinale*.

Vell. ff. 46 + 4. 279 × 200 mm. Early xvth cent. Italy. From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.

207 [R. 48219]. Ebrardus [of Bethune]. *Graecismus*.

Pap. ff. 65. 217 × 142 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

208 [R. 44247]. Appollonius Rhodius. *Argonautica* translata per Val. Rothmarum.

Pap. ff. 126 + 3 + 3. 236 × 165 mm. xviii cent. Germany.

- 209 [R. 44707]. Nonius Marcellus. *De compendiosa doctrina*.
Vell. ff. 137. 287 × 213 mm. xvth cent. Italy. From the library of Lord Vernon.
- 210 [R. 33991]. Petrus Riga. *Aurora*.
Vell. ff. 174 + 3 + 3. 153 × 84 mm. xvth cent. France.
- 211 [R. 33825]. *Miscellanea*.
Oracio Ysocratis quomodo rex se habebit penes subditos, ex greco in latino traducta (by Leonardo Giustiniani of Venice).—Plutarchus, *De liberis educandis* (translated by Guarino of Verona).—St. Basil. $\Pi\text{PO}\Sigma\ \text{TOT}\Sigma\ \text{NEOT}\Sigma$ (Latin translation by Leonardo Bruni of Arezzo).
Vell. ff. 42 + 2. 215 × 145 mm. 1445. Theodoric the son of Nicholas Werken de Abbenbroek. Oxford (?) xvth cent. binding (covers only). From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.
- 212 [251] [R. 26223]. (Phillipps. 8099.) *Catalogus librorum totius provinciae*.
The contents of Franciscan libraries in Austria in 1647.
Pap. ff. 229 + 4. 191 × 151 mm. 1647. Austria.
- 213 [254] [R. 26226]. (Phillipps. 13567.) Martinus Polonus. *Chronicon*.
Vell. ff. 78 + 1. 229 × 168 mm. xivth cent. France.
- 214 [255] [R. 26227]. (Phillipps. 3874. 13556.) *Itinerarium Imperatoris Alemanniae, Regis Franciae et Ricardi Regis Angliae*.
Vell. ff. 160 + 2. 178 × 112 mm. xiii-xivth cent. England.
- 215 [259] [R. 26231]. (Phillipps. 8139.) *Annales Wigemorenses—Chronicon Angliae* (Latin Brut).
Vell. ff. 68 + 3 + 1. 259 × 184 mm. 1382-1437. England.
- 216 [R. 33822]. Galfridus Monemutensis. *Historia regum Britanniae*.
Vell. ff. 75 + 1. 217 × 142 mm. xiiiith cent. England. From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.
- 217 [R. 33824]. Ranulphus Higden. *Polychronicon*.
Vell. ff. 210 + 3. 263 × 203 mm. circa et ante 1431, "compilatus per Ranulphum monachum cestrensem et scriptum per fratrem Stephanum Lawles, suppiorem hujus monasterii (Chester)." England. From the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall.
- 218 [R. 33823]. Ranulphus Higden. *Polychronicon*.
Vell. ff. 122 + 4. 299 × 200 mm. Late xvth cent. England.
- 219 [253] [R. 26225]. (Phillipps. 6478.) *Chronicon Monasterii de Melsa* (Meaux, Yorks).
Pap. ff. 177 + 6. 288 × 217 mm. 1388-1396. England.
- 220-221 [244-245] [R. 26212]. (Phillipps. 8135.) *Chartularium Monasterii S. Mariae Eboracensis* (St. Mary, York).
Vell. ff. 417 + 24. 300 × 229 mm. xiv-xvth cent. England.
- 222 [R. 33810]. (Phillipps. 21710.) *Chartularium Prioratus de Bredon* (co. Leicester).
Vell. ff. 77 + 4. 300 × 225 mm. xiii-xvth cent. England.

- 223 [258] [R. 26230]. (Phillipps. 21708.) *Chartularium Monasterii Beatae Mariae de Sartis in Wardon* (co. Bedford).
Vell. ff. 110 + 4. 223 × 168 mm. xiii-xvth cent. England.
224. 'R. 38978]. (Squire. Ser. III. vol. 10.) *Chartularium Abbatiae S. Mariae de Fontibus* (Fountains Abbey, Yorks).
The fifth volume (letters Q-W) of the Fountains Abbey Chartulary, of which two volumes are in the British Museum (MSS. Cotton Tib. C. xii and Add. 37770), a fourth volume is at Ripley Castle, and the other volume is now missing.
Vell. ff. 420 + 2 + 1. 310 × 221 mm. xvth cent. England. xvth cent. binding (English).
225. [R. 32959]. *Chartularium de Tockwith* (Yorks).
A collection of transcripts concerning the cell of Skewkirke in the township of Tockwith and the chapel of All Souls, a dependance of St. Oswald Priory, Nostell.
Pap. ff. 32. 312 × 210 mm. xvith cent. England.
226. [R. 32547]. William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich. *Injunctions to the prior and chapter of Norwich Cathedral, 1347.*
Vell. ff. 10. 143 × 205 mm. 1347. England.
- 227 [252]. [R. 26224]. (Phillipps. 15734-16909). *Miscellanea.*
Anonymous treatise or speech and an answer to it on the divorce of Henry VIII and Katharine of Aragon.—Letters patent of Henry VIII reconstituting the late monastery of Christchurch, Canterbury.—Grant by Henry VIII to the dean and chapter of Canterbury of lands, rents and pensions. May 23, 1541.—A collection of charters (1426, 1427, 1454) being a form-book.
Pap. ff. 69 + 4. 312 × 215 mm. xvith cent. England.
- 228 [246]. [R. 26213]. (Phillipps. 25136.) *Miscellanea.*
John of Kirby's Inquest for the Honour of Richmond (Yorks).—Poetical fragments and goliardic verses.—Extracts from patristic literature.—Itineraries to Palestine.—A commentary on the prophecy ascribed to John of Bridlington.—A form-book of accountancy.—A treatise of pharmacopea (in English).
Vell. and Pap. ff. 142. 215 × 140 mm. Late xvth cent. England.
229. [R. 26220]. (Phillipps. 31957.) *Wardrobe Book of Edward I.*
Willelmo de Meltone et Thome de Querle, clericis, pro denariis per ipsos solutis de denariis receptis in Garderoba anno presenti vicesimo septimo diuersis hominibus subscriptis, pro denariis debitis eisdem in eadem garderoba, de compoto eiusdem garderobe reddito ad Scaccarium de annis regni Regis E. xxiiij^{to}, xxv^{to} et xxvi^{to} de quibus denariis sic solutis nulla fit mencio in libro de debitis garderobe de eodem compoto nec eciam de eisdem sic debitis pro eo quod ante compotum predictum clausum ad Scaccarium, iudem denarii subtrahebantur penes eosdem quibus debebantur, et tamen in libris garderobe cotidianis de tempore predicto fit mencio de eisdem denariis sic solutis et subtractis suis locis videlicet. . . .
Vell. ff. 8. 327 × 219 mm. 1298. England.

230. [R. 47998]. *Recepta Garderobe regis Edwardi de anno regni sui vicesimo secundo : XXII : Recepta. Anno XXII^{do}.*
Vell. ff. 6. 324 × 198 mm. 1293-1294.
231. [R. 47999]. *Liber contrarotulatoris de Recepta Garderobe de anno regni Regis E[dwardi] filii Regis H[enrici] xxviii^o tempore domini J[ohannis] de Droken[ford] custodis eiusdem.*
Vell. ff. 8. 317 × 207 mm. 1299-1300.
232. [R. 48000]. *Fragment of an account book of the household of Edward I concerning advances of money and payments of wages to various persons, probably in the 30th year of his reign.*
Vell. ff. 12. 326 × 214 mm. 1302 (?).
233. [R. 48001]. *A fragment of an account book of the royal household concerning the expenses of William Cope buyer for the Great Kitchen in the 10th year of the reign (of Edward III ?).*
Vell. ff. 2. 386 × 272 mm. xivth cent.
234. [R. 48002]. *Compotus Thomae de Tettebur', clerici magne Garderobe Regine Philippe [Philippa of Hainault, Queen of Edward III] de anno quarto.*
Vell. ff. 35. 339 × 250 mm. 1330-1331.
235. [R. 48003]. *Liber necessariorum domini Johannis de Amewell, contrarotulatoris hospicii domine regine Philippe [Philippa of Hainault] de anno quinto.*
Vell. ff. 56. 339 × 236 mm. 1331-1332.
236. [R. 48004]. *Compotus Willelmi de Fferiby, cofferarii domine Philippa [Philippa of Hainault] Regine Anglie, onerati in capite de omnibus receptis et expensis dicti hospicii pro domino Johanne Cok', Thesaurario prefate Regine, ac etiam de omnibus jocalibus, vessellamentis et omnibus aliis proficiis ad dictum hospiciu[m] quouismodo pertinentibus, a primo die Aprilis anno regni Regis Edwardi tercii post conquestum Anglie tricesimo primo usque primum diem Aprilis anno xxxii^o, per unum annum integrum, per contrarotulamentum domini Roberti de creyk, contrarotulatoris eiusdem.*
Vell. ff. 12. 328 × 249 mm. 1357-1358.
237. [R. 48005]. *Part of an account-book of the household of Philippa of Hainault for 31 Edward III, giving the following items : Nomina creditorum panetrie.—Nomina creditorum cervisie.—Nomina creditorum coquine.—Nomina creditorum pulletrie.—Nomina creditorum scutillirie.—Nomina creditorum salserie.—Nomina creditorum aule et camere.—Nomina creditorum marescalcie.*
Vell. ff. 36. 321 × 247 mm. 1357-1358.
238. [R. 48006]. *Account Book of the household (in form of a diary) of Joan of Navarre (widow of Henry IV) at Leeds Castle (Kent), from Sunday, the 17th of March, 1420, to Friday, the 7th of March, 1421.*
Vell. ff. 28. 370 × 263 mm. 1420-1421.

- 239 [R. 48007]. *Necessaries for the Queene Consort [Katharine of Aragon] and her daughter [Princess Mary] delivered out of the Wardrobe, 11-12 Hen. VIII.*

Two account books or parts of them bound under the same cover, the first being the accounts of Elys Hylton, the second of Richard Justice.

Pap. ff. 20. (Fol. 1-6) 310 × 216 mm. (Fol. 7-20) 347 × 245 mm. 1520.

- 240 [R. 48008]. *Account Book of the receipts and expenses of the royal officers in Cales' [Calais], Guysnes [Guines], Arde [Ardres], Merk [Marck], Oye, Oudrewyk [Audruicq], and Bradenard [Bredenarde] for 45-6 Edw. III.*

Vell. ff. 14. 350 × 246 mm. 1371-1372.

- 241 [R. 48009]. *Compotus Hugonis Conwey, Militis, thesaurarii ville et marchie Calisie, computus a festo Sancti Michaelis archangeli anno regni regis nunc Henrici VII^{mi} xxi^o usque ffestum Sancti Michaelis archangeli anno eiusdem regis xxii^o, per unum annum integrum ut infra.*

Hunc librum continentem xxxiii folia, quarum xxix sunt scripte et iii non sunt scripte, liberavit Hugo Conway, Miles thesaurarius ville Calisie, Johanni Clerk et Roberto Cliff, auditoribus domini Regis, in previgilia Pentecostis, accidente xxi^{me} die Maii anno xxii^{do} regis Henrici VII^{mi} et in presencia Roberti Southwell Militis, et prestitit sacramentum.

Vell. ff. 33. 483 × 333 mm. 1506.

- 242 [R. 45953]. (Phillipps. 1317.) *Compotus Thesauri domini regis Parisius, de termino nativitatis domini Anno mccciii^{xx} iii^o videlicet a prima die Julii (m)ccciii^{xx} iii^o usque ad ultimam diem decembris post inclusive, per thesaurarios Philippum de Sancto Petro, Reginaldum de Capella, Nicolaum de Mauregart et Nicolaum de Fontenayo, clericum Thesauri Robertum de Acheriis, ac Campsorem ibi Petrum de Suessione.*

Vell. ff. 47. 310 × 264 mm. 1384. France.

- 243 [R. 23214]. (Phillips. 20098.) *Fines and Sheriff's precipes.*

183 original writs (on vellum) relating to various counties, chiefly of the reigns from Henry VI to Elizabeth, sewn on paper.

Pap. ff. 32. 335 × 204 mm.

- 244 [R. 38460. 4/4]. *Hibernia. Conatiae et Ultoniae provinciae.*

Officium Clerici Pellium.

Liber omnium reddituum, Reuencionum, Wardorum, Compositionum, Casualitatum et pro licentia vendendae allae cumque subsidio, receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex Provinciis predictis per spatium dimidii Anni finitum ad festum Paschae anno Domini 1622, regni Regis J[acobi] xxii.

Pap. ff. 54. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.

- 245 [R. 38460 4/1]. Hibernia. Conatiae et Ultoniae provinciae.
 Officium clerici Pellium.
 Liber omnium Reddituum, Reuencionum, Wardorum, Compositionum, Casualitatum et Auxiliorum Receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex prouinciis predictis per spatium Dimidii Anni finitum ad festum sancti Michaelis Archangeli in annis videlicet Domini 1622 et Regni Regis J[acobi] xx^{ti}.
 Pap. ff. 116. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.
- 246 [R. 38460 4/2]. Hibernia. Lageniae et Momoniae provinciae.
 Officium clerici Pellium.
 Liber omnium Reddituum, Reuencionum, Wardorum, Compositionum, Casualitatum et pro licentia vendendae allae, receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex prouinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festum Paschae anno Domini 1622, regni regis J[acobi] xx^o.
 Pap. ff. 101. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.
- 247 [R. 38460 4/3]. Hibernia. Lageniae et Momoniae provinciae.
 Officium clerici Pellium.
 Liber omnium Reddituum, Reuencionum, Wardorum, Compositionum, Casualitatum et Auxiliorum receptorum in Scaccario Hiberniae predicto ex prouinciis predictis per spatium dimidii anni finitum ad festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli in Annis videlicet Domini 1622 et regni Regis J[acobi] xx^{ti}.
 Pap. ff. 116. 292 × 189 mm. 1622. England.
- 248 [R. 28513]. Statuta Ecclesiae Cathedralis S. Pauli Londinensis.
 A modern transcript of MS. W.D. 20 of St. Paul's Cathedral Library, London.
 Pap. ff. 225. 332 × 203 mm. 1870. England.
- 249 [R. 45389]. (Phillipps. 26076.) Common Place Book.
 A book of transcripts chiefly concerning the manor of Methley (Yorks), the seat of the Savile Family.
 Vell. ff. 94. 285 × 163 mm. xvith cent. England.
- 250 [R. 45390]. (Phillipps. 25387.) Saviliana.
 A collection of transcripts concerning the Savile Family amongst which is a biographical notice on Sir John Savile, Baron of the Exchequer.
 Vell. and pap. ff. 102 + 3. 371 × 274 mm. xvith-xviith cent. England. xvith cent. English binding.
- 251 [R. 32959]. Yorkshire deeds.
 A collection of transcripts concerning the lands of the Wilstrop Family.
 Pap. ff. 121. 312 × 210 mm. xvth-xvith cent. England.
- 252 [R. 38961]. (Squire. Ser. III. vol. 11.) Statuta vetera et nova.
 Vell. ff. 213 + 2. 250 × 161 mm. xvth cent. England.
- 253 [249] [R. 26219]. (Phillipps. 29791.) Statuta Angliae.
 Vell. ff. 51. 247 × 169 mm. xiii-xivth cent. England.
- 254 [R. 33893]. Statuta Angliae.
 Vell. ff. 71. 114 × 83 mm. xvth cent. England.

- 255 [R. 45949]. (Phillipps. 9617.) *Statuta et Registrum Brevium Edwardi I.*
Vell. and pap. ff. 232 + 3 + 5. 220 × 138 mm. xivth cent. England.
- 256 [R. 37270]. *Statuta Angliae.*
Vell. ff. 200. 153 × 105 mm. xiv-xvth cent. England. xv-xvth cent. binding.
- 257 [R. 32958]. *Placita parliamentaria et Coronae Edwardi I.*
Vell. ff. 65. 334 × 248 mm. xivth cent. England.
- 258 [R. 38903]. (Ser. I. vol. 1.) Buckinghamshire. *Placita de quo warranto, de juris et assisis et Coronae. Anno 14. Edw. I.*
Nos. 258-332 from a collection known as the Squire MSS.
Pap. ff. 71. 370 × 230 mm.
- 259 [R. 38904]. (Ser. I. vol. 2.) Devonshire and Cornwall. *Close rolls, Charter rolls, etc. 1 John-35 Hen. III.*
Pap. ff. 191. 348 × 220 mm.
- 260 [R. 38905]. (Ser. I. vol. 3.) Devonshire and Cornwall. *Fine rolls. 7 Ric. I-22 Edw. IV.*
Pap. ff. 128. 352 × 215 mm. 1625.
- 261 [R. 38906]. (Ser. I. vol. 4.) Devonshire. *Inquisitiones post mortem et ad quod damnum. 2 Ric. II-10 Hen. V.*
Pap. ff. 168. 346 × 234 mm.
- 262 [R. 38907]. (Ser. I. vol. 5.) Devonshire. *Inquisitiones post mortem et ad quod damnum. 1 Hen. VI-3. Ric. III.*
Pap. ff. 166. 331 × 210 mm.
- 263 [R. 38908]. (Ser. I. vol. 6.) Devonshire. *Calendar of records. 12 Hen. III-2 Ric. III.*
Pap. ff. 97. 304 × 200.
- 264 [R. 38909]. (Ser. I. vol. 7.) *Soca de Edulfesnasce, in comitatu Essex', nuper dicta soca sancti Pauli London' modo honorabilis viri Thome Domini Darcy de Chiche in comitatu predicta.*
Supervisio Thorpe, Kyrkeby et Walton infra socam predictam inchoata et peracta per dilligentem visum et perambulacionem Johannis Madison, supervisoris ibidem per mandatum prefati honorabilis Thome Domini Darcy, modo Domini maneriorum et soce predictec et per sacramentum tenentium maneriorum predictorum ad hoc ordinatorum et juratorum quorum nomina postea recensentur, hinc et ibidem existentium, et cum prefato supervisore quotidie pro vices simul circumambulantium, incepta quinta die Augusti, anno regni domine Elizabethe, Dei gratia Anglie, Francie et Hibernie regine, fidei defensoris, etc., tricesimo nono, annoque Domini 1597.
Pap. ff. 524. 307 × 206 mm.
- 265 [R. 38910]. (Ser. I. vol. 8.) Gloucestershire. *Inquisitiones post mortem et Eschaeta. 1-20 Edw. II.*
Pap. ff. 62. 332 × 210 mm.

- 266 [R. 38911]. (Ser. I. vol. 9.) Dutchy of Lancaster.
A collection of transcripts concerning the Duchy.
Pap. ff. 65. 309 × 196 mm.
- 267 [R. 38912]. (Ser. I. vol. 10.) London. Transcripts of grants of
lands in London by Henry VIII, 1535-1540.
Pap. ff. 43. 294 × 180 mm.
- 268 [R. 38913]. (Ser. I. vol. 11.) Statutes of the Savoy Hospital,
London. 1523.
Pap. ff. 35. 208 × 159 mm.
- 269 [R. 38914]. (Ser. I. vol. 12.) Northamptonshire. Escheats,
31 Hen. III-35 Edw. I.
Pap. ff. 230. 306 × 200 mm.
- 270 [R. 38915]. (Ser. I. vol. 13.) Northamptonshire. Escheats.
1 Edw. I-17 Edw. III.
Pap. ff. 258. 306 × 200 mm.
- 271 [R. 38916]. (Ser. I. vol. 14.) De Forestis.
Readinge and declaration of the Authorities, liberties and offices of a
fforeste made upon a certeine statute called Carta de Foresta by
one Treherne (in English).
Pap. ff. 48. 304 × 203 mm.
- 272 [R. 38917]. (Ser. I. vol. 15.) Oxfordshire. Inquisition (1279).
Hundreds of Ewelme, Bolenden, Wootton.
Pap. ff. 327. 310 × 200 mm.
- 273 [R. 38918]. (Ser. I. vol. 16.) Oxfordshire. Inquisition (1279).
Hundreds of Poghedelowe, Bampton, Langtree, Lewknor, Chadlington,
Thames, Oxford "extra porta boreale."
Pap. ff. 213. 310 × 200 mm.
- 274 [R. 38919]. (Ser. I. vol. 17.) Oswestry. Rentals, surveys, etc.
Pap. ff. 286. 277 × 196 mm. temp. Elizabeth.
- 275 [R. 38920]. (Ser. I. vol. 18.) Miscellanea.
Perambulationes Forestarum. 29 Edw. I.—Carta Monachorum de
Monte Acuto. Hen. I.
Pap. ff. 9. 305 × 203 mm.
- 276 [R. 38921]. (Ser. I. vol. 19.) Staffordshire. Escheats. 1 Edw. III-
13 Ric. II.
Pap. ff. 69. 306 × 200 mm.
- 277 [R. 38922]. (Ser. I. vol. 20.) Staffordshire. Visitation of Robert
Glover. 1583.
Pap. ff. 53. 340 × 222 mm.
- 278 [R. 38923]. (Ser. I. vol. 21.) Surrey and Sussex. Abstracts of
Grants. 29-31 Hen. VIII. Various genealogical notes.
Pap. ff. 35. 291 × 194 mm.

- [R. 38924]. (Ser. I. vol. 22.) See *Rylands Charters*, No. 63.
- 279 [R. 38925]. (Ser. II. vol. 1.) *Charta Antiqua*. Edward the Confessor—Edw. III.
 Charter rolls. Joh.-Hen. III.—Inventory of some presses in a Record Office (Tower?).—Charter rolls. 5 Edw. I.—Charter rolls. 1-4 Hen. IV.
 Pap. ff. 480. 305 × 194 mm.
- 280 [R. 38926]. (Ser. II. vol. 2.) Charter rolls. 21-35 Edw. I.
 Pap. ff. 346. 306 × 200 mm.
- 281 [R. 38927]. (Ser. II. vol. 3.) Close rolls. 14 Joh.-37 Hen. III., 49 Hen. III., 23 Edw. I.
 Pap. ff. 397. 306 × 200 mm.
- 282 [R. 38928]. (Ser. II. Vol. 4.) Close rolls. 1-5 Hen. III.
 Pap. ff. 369. 290 × 175 mm.
- 283 [R. 38929]. (Ser. II. vol. 5.) Close rolls. 19-24 Hen. III.
 Pap. ff. 337. 298 × 192 mm.
- 284 [R. 38930]. (Ser. II. vol. 6.) Close rolls. 24-33 Hen. III.
 Pap. ff. 510. 300 × 198 mm.
- 285 [R. 38931]. (Ser. II. vol. 7.) Fine rolls. 1-12 Hen. III.
 Pap. ff. 338. 294 × 184 mm.
- 286 [R. 38932]. (Ser. II. vol. 8.) Fine rolls. 13-20 Hen. III.
 Pap. ff. 321. 299 × 188 mm.
- 287 [R. 38933]. (Ser. II. vol. 9.) Dorsetshire, Suffolk, Berkshire, Northamptonshire. Escheats. 23 Hen. III.-22 Ric. II.
 Pap. ff. 570. 311 × 208 mm.
- 288 [R. 38934]. (Ser. II. vol. 10.) Sussex, Surrey, Kent, Leicestershire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Worcestershire. Escheats. Hen. III.-Ric. III.
 Pap. ff. 358. 311 × 209 mm.
- 289 [R. 38935]. (Ser. II. vol. 11.) Abstracts of letters patent. 3 Joh.-20 Edw. II.
 Pap. ff. 202. 340 × 210 mm.
- 290 [R. 38936]. (Ser. II. vol. 12.) Abstracts of letters patent. 1 Edw. III.-51 Edw. III.
 Pap. ff. 196. 347 × 219 mm.
- 291 [R. 38937]. (Ser. II. vol. 13.) *Placita ad parlamentum* 18-30 Edw. I.—Abstracts of letters patent. 1 Ric. I.-39 Hen. VI.
 Pap. ff. 265. 357 × 219 mm.
- 292 [R. 38938]. (Ser. II. vol. 14.) Patent rolls. 32 Hen. VIII.
 Pap. ff. 383. 305 × 201 mm.
- 293 [R. 38939]. (Ser. II. vol. 15.) Parliamentary proceedings. 14 Hen. VIII. Patent rolls. 29, 30, 32, 34 Hen. VIII.
 Pap. ff. 540. 308 × 192 mm.

- 294 [R. 38940]. (Ser. II. vol. 16.) Placita coram Rege, coram concilio Regis et de Banco. 3-6, 27-56 Hen. III.
Pap. ff. 158. 350 × 224 mm.
- 295 [R. 38941]. (Ser. II. vol. 17.) Placita parlamentaria. 18-23 Edw. I.
Pap. ff. 114. 368 × 235 mm.
- 296 [R. 38942]. (Ser. II. vol. 18.) Placita parlamentaria. 18-35 Edw. I.
Pap. ff. 350. 302 × 195 mm.
- 297 [R. 38943]. (Ser. II. vol. 19.) Miscellanea.
Ex rotulo ordinationum 5 Edw. II.—Ex rotulo parlamenti 8 Edw. II.—Placita, parlamentaria 8 Edw. II.—Memoranda de parlamento 9 Edw. II.—Processus Hugonis de Courtney. 8. Edw. I.—De parlamento regis, 9 Edw. I.
Pap. ff. 227. 308 × 205 mm.
- 298 [R. 38944]. (Ser. II. vol. 20.) Rotuli parlamenti. 1-5 Ric. II.
Pap. ff. 330. 284 × 185 mm.
- 299 [R. 38945]. (Ser. II. vol. 21.) Rotuli parlamenti. 14-21 Ric. II.
Pap. ff. 263. 290 × 184 mm.
- 300 [R. 38946]. (Ser. II. vol. 22.) Law precedents among placita. Edw. I.-Ric. II.
Pap. ff. 272. 308 × 204 mm.
- 301 [R. 38947]. (Ser. II. vol. 23.) Rotuli parlamenti. 5 Hen. V.-6 Hen. VI.
Pap. ff. 456. 305 × 196 mm.
- 302 [R. 38948]. (Ser. II. vol. 24.) Abstracts from patent rolls (3 Hen. III), plea rolls (3 Hen. III.-26 Edw. III), and the red book of Exchequer (3 Hen. III.-17 Ric. II).
Pap. ff. 130. 317 × 212 mm.
- (Ser. II. vol. 25.)
Missing, or may be identical with MS. 314 or 315.
- 303 [R. 38949]. (Ser. II. vol. 26.) Placita de Banco. 1-14 Edw. I.
Pap. ff. 168. 310 × 203 mm.
- 304 [R. 38950]. (Ser. II. vol. 27.) Placita de Banco. 9-34 Edw. I.
Pap. ff. 147. 342 × 220 mm.
- 305 [R. 38951]. (Ser. II. vol. 28.) Placita coram Rege. 4-27 Edw. III.
Pap. ff. 335. 315 × 205 mm.
- 306 [R. 38952]. (Ser. III. vol. 1.) Miscellanea.
A note of the books in the cheste at Westminster.—De particione Anglie per Comitatus et domibus religiosis in eis contentis.—Modus tenendi parlamentum, etc.
Pap. ff. 117. 348 × 225 mm.

- 307 [R. 38953]. (Ser. III. vol. 2.) Knights fees (extracts from patent rolls). 1 Ric. III.-4 James I.
Pap. ff. 134. 310 × 204 mm.
- 308 [R. 38954]. (Ser. III. vol. 3.) Miscellanea.
Gervasii Tilberiensis de necessariis Scaccarii observationibus dialogus.
The severall opinions of saundry antiquaries touchinge the antiquitie, power, order, state, manner, persons and proceedinges of the High Court of Parliament of England [Sir John Doddridge].—De baronibus in parlamento (collected for the Lords of the Upper House of Parliament 20 Jacobi).—England's Epinomis [John Selden].—Modus tenendi parliamentum.—Leges Henrici I transcriptae ex Libro Rubro Scaccarii, etc.
Pap. ff. 234. 307 × 212 mm.
- 309 [R. 38955]. (Ser. III. vol. 4.) Liber omnium feodorum militum in comitatu Norfolcensi. 3 Hen. IV.—Knight fees. 2-13 Edw. I.
Pap. ff. 89. 286 × 215 mm
- 310 [R. 38956]. (Ser. III. vol. 5.) Nomina eorum qui feoda militum et de quibus ipsi tenent.
Pap. ff. 46. 425 × 275 mm.
- 311 [R. 38957]. (Ser. III. vol. 6.) Nomina Militum, Comitatum, Civitatum, Burgensium, Burgorum et Villarum, et Baronum Quinque Portuum, Electorum ad serviendum in Parlamento incipiendo et tenendo apud Civitatem Westmonasterii, decimo nono die Maii Anno Regni Regis Domini Jacobi secundi primo, Annoque Domini 1685.
Pap. ff. 28. 329 × 219 mm.
- 312 [R. 38958]. (Ser. III. vol. 7.) Miscellanea Genealogica.
Pap. ff. 442. 355 × 226 mm.
- 313 [R. 38959]. (Ser. III. vol. 8.) Ancient pedigrees.
Pap. ff. 182. 465 × 367 mm.
- 314 [R. 38960]. (Ser. III. vol. 9.) Rights and Jurisdictions of London.
Pap. ff. 88. 310 × 202 mm.
(Ser. III. vol. 10.) See MS. 224.
(Ser. III. vol. 11.) See MS. 252.
- 315 [R. 38962]. (Ser. III. vol. 12.) Lectures on the Laws of the Forest (in law-French).
Pap. ff. 101. 373 × 268 mm.
- 316 [R. 38963]. (Ser. III. vol. 13.) Parliament writs, etc., 49 Hen. III.-4 Edw. III. Abstracts from parliament rolls. 4 Edw. III.-7 Hen. VI.
Pap. ff. 230. 375 × 225 mm.
- 317 [R. 38964]. (Ser. III. vol. 14.) Placita coram justiciariis itinerantibus, etc. Hen. III.-Edw. II.—Patent rolls, Edw. IV.
Pap. ff. 341. 346 × 223 mm.

- 318 [R. 38965]. (Ser. III. vol. 15.) Miscellanea. Abstracts from various charters, rolls and MSS. concerning the history of England.
Pap. ff. 168. 292 × 187 mm.
- 319 [R. 38966]. (Ser. III. vol. 16.) Miscellanea.
Abstracts from various charters, rolls, books, registers, and other MSS. concerning the history of England.—Catalogue of the library of Mr. Scipio Squire.
Pap. ff. 143. 349 × 222 mm.
- 320 [R. 38967]. (Ser. III. vol. 17.) Miscellanea.
Abstracts of various records concerning Wales, Cornwall, and the county of Chester.
Pap. ff. 29. 342 × 198 mm.
- 321 [R. 38968]. (Ser. III. vol. 18.) Earls and Barons from 1066 to 1336.—Dukes, Earls, and Barons from 1336 to 1514.—Summonses to Parliament. 1 Ric. I-6 Hen. VIII.
Pap. ff. 115. 280 × 185 mm.
- 322 [R. 38969]. (Ser. III. vol. 19.) Calendar of Placita coram Rege et de Banco, John-Hen. V.—Calendar of the records in the receipt of the Exchequer.
Pap. ff. 105. 346 × 220 mm.
- 323 [R. 38970]. (Ser. III. vol. 20.) A repertory of the Records in the Custody of the Chamberlaynes of the Receipt. In the Pallace Treasury.
Pap. ff. 36. 310 × 195 mm.
- 324 [R. 38971]. (Ser. III. vol. 21.) A Book of Offices as well of his Majesties Courtes of Records as of his highnes most honourable householde, The Counsellis of the North, of Wales, and the Marches, The Admiraltye, The Armorye and the Minte, His Majesties Townes of warres, castles, Bulwarkes and fortresses, The Islandes, His Highnes' hewses, parkes, forrests and chases with the Havens and harbours of England collected in Anno 1613.
Pap. ff. 44. 287 × 197 mm.
- 325 [R. 38972]. (Ser. III. vol. 22.) A generall collection of all the offices of Englande with their fees and allowances in the Queenes [Elizabeth] gyft. . . .
Pap. ff. 50. 213 × 165 mm.
- 326 [R. 38973]. (Ser. III. vol. 23.) Questions of Lawe and affaires of State concerneing the Kingdome of Ireland.—Copy of the Charter of Maryland, June 20th, 1632.—Various opinions, etc., upon the said Charter.—Ordinance by "the Lord and Proprietary of the Province of Maryland," 1670.—Certaine Questions arrysing upon Lawes made within the said Patent answered by Mr. Wallop.—Miscellaneous legal notes.
Pap. ff. 52. 297 × 200 mm.

- 327 [R. 38974]. (Ser. III. vol. 24.) *Dominium Maris Britannici Assertum ex Archiviis, Historiis ac Municipalibus Regni legibus, Per D. Johannem de Burgo, Equitem Auratum et Archiuorum Regni in Turri Londinensi custodem, etc.*
Pap. ff. 35. 309 × 202 mm.
(Ser. III. vol. 25.)
Missing. Very likely one of the four MSS. Nos. 329-332.
- 328 [R. 38975]. (Ser. III. vol. 26.) *Miscellanea.*
Transcripts of some rolls.—Abstracts of Littleton, Domat, etc.—Fragments of a correspondence of C. Parkin concerning his history of the Antiquities of the county of Norfolk.—This is the true copie taken by Sr Symon Dewes out of antient records in the Tower of London of all the Dukes, Marquesses, Earles, Viscounts, Barons, Knights and gentlemen that were with King Henry the third in France, with King Edward the second at the siege of Caerlaveroke in Scotland, and with King Henry the fifth at the siege of Roan in France with all their coats of arms.
A bundle of 13 quires of various sizes.
- 329 [R. 38976]. *Coats of arms of the mayors and sherriffs of London from 1190 to 1659.*
Pap. ff. 63. 323 × 199 mm.
- 330 [R. 38977]. *Honours magazine or a briefe chronologie of the ancient armes of the Brittaines, Danes, Saxons and Norman Kings with their different supporters and badges of Regality as also of severall degrees of all the nobility of this nation . . . with some observations of their severall places and offices of Honor and Trust and what else is most remarkeable concerning them.*
Pap. ff. 206. 387 × 267 mm.
- 331 [R. 38979]. *Rotulus parlamenti tenti apud Westmonasterium vicesimo quinto Ffebruarii anno regni regis Henrici sexti post conquestum XXIII.*
Pap. (not bound). ff. 204. 328 × 211 mm.
- 332 [R. 38980]. *Parliament rolls. 1, 12, 13, 14, Edw. IV.*
Pap. (not bound). ff. 424. 330 × 210 mm.
- 333 [R. 52433]. *Register of Archdeaonry of Richmond.*
Registrum litterarum, institutionum, testamentorum et aliorum quorumcumque inferius descriptorum in tempore venerabilis viri Magistri Thome Kemp, in theologia baccalaurei, archidiaconi Richmondie in ecclesia Eboraci, per ipsum dominum archidiaconum, ejus vicarium in spiritualibus generalem, jure ordinario et consuetudinario dicti archidiaconatus exercitorum, gestorum et habitorum, inceptum decimo nono die mensis Novembris Anno Domini 1442, quo die dictus dominus archidiaconus admissus fuit ad archidiaconatum.
Vell. ff. 84 + 3 (paper), 342 × 246 mm. 1442, and later. England.

- 334 [R. 53559]. *Missale ad usum Romanum*.
Vell. ff. 215 + 2. 237 × 147 mm. xi-xiih cent [after 1075]. Diocese of Cologne or Treves. Early binding.
- 335 [R. 54264]. *Psalterium Romanum*.
Vell. ff. 230. 362 × 243 mm. xivth cent. Italy (for a house of the Hermits of Fonte Avellana). Early binding.
- 336 [R. 54605]. *Book of the court of Bottesford manor (Lincoln)*.
Pap. ff. 63 + 8 + 5. 360 × 225 mm. 1547-1689. England.
- 337 [R. 55796]. (Phillipps 460.) *Miscellanea*.
Venerabilis Bede presbiteri allegorica expositio de structura templi Salomonis.
Cassiodori, In Cantica Canticorum.
Quotationes totius Biblie.
Item Orationes breues.
Vell. ff. 142. 167 × 122 mm. xii-xivth cent. France. Early binding, stamped leather.
- 338 [R. 55797]. (Phillipps 9161.) *Eutropius historicus. De Gestis Romanorum cum additamentis Pauli Diaconi*.
Pap. ff. 218 + 4. 205 × 141 mm. xvth cent. France. From the library of Jean Budé. Early binding, stamped leather.
- 339 [R. 55939]. [William of Pagham.] *Summa que vocatur sinistra pars oculi sacerdotum*.
Vell. ff. 149 + 3 + 1. 245 × 183 mm. Late xivth cent. England.
"Iste liber constat ecclesie parochiali de Halsall [Lancs.] post mortem domini Willelmi Houghton capellani. Ex dono domini Edmundi Ffaryngton [circ. 1495] quondam Rectoris ecclesie predicte cujus anime propicietur deus."
From the library of the Earl of Powis. Early binding, back modern.
- 340 [R. 56061]. *Petri Rigae Aurora*.
Vell. ff. 71 + 2. 307 × 220 mm. xiih cent. France.
- 341 [R. 56062]. *Miscellanea*.
Quoddam scriptum salutiferum de mandatis Dei.
Quedam exhortacio bona quam timor et spes pro salute humana. . .
Cibus anime.
Exhortaciones beati Augustini ad Julianum comitem.
Vell. ff. 103 + 5. 219 × 143 mm. xivth cent. England.
- 342 [R. 56064]. *Miscellanea Theologica*.
Summa de tota natura divinitatis. (Imperfect.)
Hugo de Sancto Victore. De temptationibus. (Imperfect.)
Tabula super scriptum Sancti Thome de veritatibus.
Extracts from lives of saints relating to virtues.
Pap. ff. 128 + 3. 212 × 145 mm. 1454/5. England.
From the library of Robert Steele, Wandsworth Common.
- 343 [R. 56087]. *Diurnale (fragment)*.
Vell. ff. 70 + 4. 150 × 114 mm. xivth cent. England (?).

344 [R. 56088]. *Diurnale Cisterciense.*

Vell. ff. 145 + 1 + 14. 128 × 96 mm. xiii-xvth cent. France and Germany.
From the library of George Dunn, of Woolley Hall, near Maidenhead.

345 [R. 56089]. *Petri Rigae Aurora.*

Vell. ff. 178 + 2. 189 × 132 mm. xiiiith cent. France.

346 [R. 56090]. *Breviarium ad usum Fratrum Minorum.*

Vell. ff. 426 + 3. 105 × 78 mm. xivth cent. Germany.

347 [R. 56091]. (Phillipps 1302.) *Miscellanea.*

De transportatione capitis S. Andreae Ap. ex Morea in Urbem.

Cicero. De oratore.

Leonardi Justiniani veneti oratoris eminentissimi in beati Nicolai mirarum episcopi vitam e greco sermone in latinum traductam ad reuerendum in Xto patrem et dominum Laurentium, venetiarum episcopum ac fratrem suum. . . .

Vita S. Nicolai.

Leonardi Aretini prefatio in Cicerone nouo quem ad Nicolaum suum scripsit.

Leonardi Aretini Cicero novus.

Vita beati Pauli primi eremite ab Hieronymo conscripta.

Vita beati malchi monachi captiui per beatum hieronymum conscripta.

Æsopi fabule.

Pap. ff. 125 + 1. 216 × 153 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

From the MacClure library.

348 [R. 56092]. *De Imitatione Christi et alia.*

Tractatus de horis canonicis domini Alberti de Ferrarii de Placentia.

Tractatus de silencio Augustini ad fratres heremitas.

Forma quedam vivendi in celesti exercitio.

Tractatus eterne inspirationis.

Tractatus de quatuor meditationibus totius vite hominis devoti doctoris Johannis Bonaventure.

Pap. ff. 142 + 4. 292 × 217 mm. xvth cent. Germany or Netherlands. Liber Cartusiensium in Buchshaim prope Meiningen. . . . Early binding.

349 [R. 56093]. *Ven. Bede. Liber Scintillarum.*

Pap. ff. 56 + 2 + 4. 205 × 143 mm.

"Suesse [Sessa, Italy, Pca of Caserta] scriptus per manus mei Sirdominici de rogerio de cayuano immeriti ducalis cancellarii. Anno domini millesimo cccc^o xxxviii^ojo, secundo Septembris, xiii Indictione."

From the MacClure library.

350 [R. 56094]. *Sancti Bernardini de Senis. O.M. Tractatus de contractibus et usuris.*

Vell. ff. 99 + 4. 169 × 122 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

From the MacClure library.

351 [R. 56095]. *Guido de Colonna. Liber infortunii civitatis Troye.*

The end of the volume has been used as a form-book.

Pap. ff. 109 + 4. 274 × 210 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

- 352 [R. 56096]. *Concordantia Bibliorum minor*.
Vell. ff. 54. 158 × 109 mm. xivth cent.
From the MacClure library.
- 353 [R. 56097]. *Rolewynck. Fasciculus Temporum*.
Pap. ff. 171 + 1. 285 × 207 mm. xvth cent. Germany.
- 354 [R. 56098]. *Lectionary and breviary*.
Vell. ff. 445 + 2. 160 × 120 mm. xiii-xivth cent. England (?).
Early binding, stamped: S. Thome de Townlaye.
- 355 [R. 56254]. *S. Anselm. Elucidarius*.
Vell. ff. 48 + 1. 254 × 199 mm. xivth cent. Spain.
- 356 [R. 56255]. *Nicolaus de Lyra, Postille super Psalterium et S. Hieronymi Psalterium*.
Pap. ff. 275 + 3. 210 × 143 mm. xvth cent. Germany.
From the Charterhouse of Erfurt and the libraries of Sir Thomas Phillipps, Hennin-Lietard, Cardinal-Archbishop of Mechlin, and J. Blackwood-Greenshields of Kerse.
- 357 [R. 56256]. *Theologica*.
Raimundi de Pennafort. Summa de casibus penitentie.
Raimundi de Pennafort. Summa matrimonii.
Giovanni d'Andrea. Summula de sponsalibus et matrimoniis
Nicholaus de Anesiato, O. P. Tabula decretalium.
Vell. ff. 97 + 2. 278 × 210 mm. xivth cent. England.
From the library of the Jesuit College at Brussels.
- 358 [R. 56257]. (Phillipps 3675). *Servii Vocabularium*.
Pap. ff. 62 + 2 + 2. 209 × 148 mm. xivth cent. Italy.
- 359 [R. 56560]. *Biblia Sacra*.
Vell. ff. 530 + 5 + 5. 160 × 106 mm. xiith cent. France.
From the libraries of the Church of St. Dié. (Vosges, France), and Charles Adrien Picard, 1740.
With two paintings.
- 360 [R. 56689]. *Rituale Canoniorum regularium S. Augustini*.
Vell. ff. 81 + 3. 149 × 82 mm. xvth cent. England.
- 361 [R. 56691]. *Miscellanea*.
Johannes Jacobus Canis. Breviarium Decretalium.
Franciscus Philephus. Symposium.
"Antonius Zuyanus cum esset Venetiis orator reipublice Vincentine id tempus quod sibi supererat a negociis publicis ad hunc libellum transcribendum accommodavit, anno Domini 1459, mense Junii."
- Martianus Capella. De nuptiis Mercurii et Philologie.*
Three MSS. have been bound together.
Pap. ff. 167 + 2. 208 × 149 mm. xv-xvith cent. Italy.
- 362 [R. 56937]. *Elucidatio initii legis prime*.
Vell. ff. 36 + 2. 220 × 155 mm. xvth cent. France.
From the library of Jean Charpentier, Dean of Abbeville Somme, 1573, and from the library of George Dunn of Woolley Hall near Maidenhead. Early binding, limp leather stamped with embossed panel in 4 compartments;
Sca. Katerina. Scus. Nicolaus.
Scus. Johannes Sca. Barbara

- 363 [R. 56939]. (Libri 938.) Miscellanea.
 Sulpicius Severus. Vita Sancti Martini Episcopi. [B.H.L. 5610.]
 Paulinus Nolanus. Vita Sancti Ambrosii. [B.H.L. 377.]
 Origenis Omelia super Math. I. 18.
 Vita Sancti Materni. [B.H.L. 2655.] ("Scriptum Colonie per Wilhelmum Hamez 1448.")
 Beati Jheronimi Epistola ad Heliodorum episcopum.
 Beati Jheronimi Epistola ad Aniciam Demetriadem virginem.
 Beati Augustini Ipponenis episcopi Epistola ad Cirillum secundum Jherosolimitanum episcopum.
 Vell. ff. 155 + 2. 144 × 100 mm. xvth cent. Germany.
 "Iste liber est Illustris domini Mauriti, Comitis de Spiegelberch, prepositi Einbricensis et maioris ecclesie Coloniensis Canonici, etc."
- 364 [R. 56940]. (Phillipps 611.) Cordatus. Sermones de tempore.
 Pap. ff. 223. 281 × 201 mm. 1475. Germany. "Liber monasterii Beate Virginis vulgo Marien Munster." Early binding.
- 365 [R. 56941]. Mariale.
 Sermones super ave Maria et alia cum proprietatibus quorundam lignorum.
 De XII virtutibus significatis per XII filios Job secundum Magistrum R[ichardum] de Sancto Victore.
 A text inserted ff. 228b-236b.
 Vell. ff. 343 + 3. 240 × 158 mm. xivth cent. England.
 From the library of Fountains Abbey. "Liber fratris Johannis de Kir[k]eby, monachi de Ffontibus," and of Sir H. Ingilby of Ripley Castle, Bart. [Hist. MSS. Comm. Rep. VI, part 1, p. 357.]
- 366 [17249]. Matutinale Beate Marie quod dicitur Laus Virginum.
 Pap. ff. 195. 293 × 220 mm. 1417. Bohemia.
 From the library of Earl Spencer at Althorp. On the covers are pasted two woodcuts, one of which is the famous Saint Christopher, dated 1423. Early binding.
- 367 [R. 56976]. Sermones.
 Expositum omnium epistolarum evangeliorumque festivalium sanctorum secundum Radulphum de Attone (Ralph Higden).
 Sermones pro tempore . . . ("Explicit doctor Rypingdon.")
 Vell. ff. 322 + 1. 312 × 212 mm. xvth cent. England. Early binding.
- 368 [R. 56999]. Horae.
 Book of hours of Suzanne de Bourbon, the wife of Charles de Bourbon, Constable of France.
 Vell. ff. 133 + 3 + 3. 89 × 54 mm. xvth cent. France.
 With 17 miniature paintings by an unknown artist who might be the Master of Moulins or one of his pupils. Binding, xviii cent.
- 369 [R. 57430]. Manor Book of Middleton Austins, co. Suffolk 1694-1754.
 Vell. ff. 49. 395 × 257 mm. xvii-xviii cent. England.
- 370 [R. 58218]. A Latin translation of the Statutes of the Order of the Golden Fleece.
 Vell. ff. 40. 243 × 179 mm. xvth cent. Flanders or Spain. Early binding.

- 371 [R. 61544]. Fragment.
Part of a manuscript containing the last 22 chapters of Bk. I. (De Deo?) and Bks. II. (De Creatione) and III (De corruptela peccati) of a "Summa."
Vell. ff. 57. 175 × 127 mm. xivth cent. France (?).
- 372 [R. 59239]. (Phillipps 21354.) *Miscellanea Theologica*.
Liber S. Augustini de essentia Dei.
Liber S. Augustini de ecclesiasticis dogmatibus.
Questiones Orosii ad beatum Augustinum episcopum.
Liber S. Augustini de spiritu et anima.
Tractatus beati Bernardi de passione Dei.
Meditationes Sancti Bernardi.
Bernardus. De Sancta Virgine.
Libri III sententiarum Sancti Isidori episcopi.
Speculum Ecclesie Editum a Magistro Hugone de Sancto Victore.
Liber de infancia Salvatoris.
Evangelium secundum Johannem.
Vell. ff. 182 + 5 + 5. 127 × 90 mm. xivth cent. France.
- 373 [R. 59237]. Petrus Lombardus. *Libri Sententiarum*.
Imperfect at the end. Marginal annotations.
Vell. ff. 359 + 2 + 2. 267 × 168 mm. Early xivth cent. France.
"Iste liber est beate Marie Vallis Sucentis (Vauluisant, Yonne, Ord. Cist.) communi custodie traditus. Quisque fuerit (*sic*) vel scripturam hanc rasc[rit] anathema sit. Amen."
From the library of Jacques Blazeus, Bishop of Saint-Omer.
- 374 [R. 40364]. *Registra bonorum et reddituum Episcopi Vratislaviensis*.
A transcript by Edward Peacock of Bottesford Manor.
Pap. ff. 247. 331 × 200 mm. xixth cent. England.
- 375 [R. 61549]. Form-book.
With transcript of many documents.
Pap. ff. 117. 289 × 196 mm. xviiith cent. England.
- 376 [R. 61183]. *Ascetica*.
Nikolaus von Dinkelsbuhl. *Sermones de tempore*.
Nikolaus von Dinkelsbuhl. *Sermones de Sanctis*.
Nikolaus von Dinkelsbuhl. *De arte moriendi*.
S. Augustini sermones ad quosdam fratres heremitarum et ad fratres suos canonicos.
Liber de meditationibus S. Anselmi.
Pap. ff. 203. 290 × 202 mm. 1447. Germany. Early binding.
- 377 [R. 60874]. *Sermones*.
These sermons are ascribed "duobus canonicis hujus loci" and the MS. comes from the Praemonstratensian Abbey of Osterhofen. Bavaria.
Pap. ff. 317. 295 × 198 mm. xvth cent. Germany. Original binding.
378. [R. 61203]. *Sermones*.
A collection made probably as a "dormi secure" by John Fisher, a Carmelite friar of the Convent of Nuremberg, Bavaria, in and about 1389.
Pap. ff. 425 + 3 + 3. 213 × 157 mm. xivth cent. Germany. Part of early binding.

379 [R. 61202]. *Miscellanea.*

Sermones beati Maximi, episcopi [Taurinensis].

Miracula beate Marie Virginis, J. de Hildefonso archiepiscopo,

Consuetudines Cisterciensium super exordium Cisterciensis cenobii.

De duobus ducibus altercentibus. (Extract from St. Maiolus' Vita.)

Orationes bone assidue dicende.

A treatise "De virginitate."

Sermones.

A poetical version of the Book of Job. (Probably from Peter of Riga's Aurora.)

Vell. ff. 203. 157 × 110 mm. xiiith cent. Germany.

From the library of the Monastery of St. Mary in Bredelar, Westphalia, Ord. Cist.
Early binding.

380 [R. 61200]. *Miscellanea Rhetorica.*

Elegantie orationum clarissimi viri Stephani Flisci Sonsinensis [Stefano Fieschi da Soncino] cum sinonimis suis.

Tractatus de nobilitate domini Bonacursii de Monte Magno ad illustrem principem Guidantonium Montis Ferati comitem.

Elegantie alie orationum. "Anno currente millesimo quadricentesimo sexagesimo quinto. Qui scripsit scribat, semper cum Domino vivat."

Leonardi Aretini ex hystoria Eliogabali, oratio ad meretrices.

Plutarchi de liberis educandis, translate Guarino Veronensi de greco in latinum.

Lauri Quirini . . . oratio contra invidiam.

Oratio habita in principio studii. . . .

Pap. ff. 138 + 4. 228 × 165 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

"*Liber Cartusiensis in Buchshaim prope Menningen, proveniens a confratre nostro domino Hilprando Brandenburgensi de Bibraco donato sacerdote continuo ut ibi oretr pro eo et pro quibus desideravit.*"

381 [R. 61199]. *Fragments of Manuscripts.*

Narratio bona.

De beato Augustino.

Part of a treatise on Chancery proceedings.

Part of a Breviary with Calendar.

Vell. ff. 45 + 3 + 3. 175 × 110 mm. xivth cent. England.

382 [R. 60875]. *Fframfeild. (Framfield, co. Sussex.) Liber curiarum ibidem. 1665-1675.*

Pap. ff. 110. 310 × 199 mm. xvith cent. England.

383 [R. 61207]. *Baillif's Accounts, 1503-1505.*

For lands in Elmsthorpe, co. Leicester; Warmingham, Northrode Blacon, Ashton, co. Chester; Wollaston, co. Salop; Les Yates de Cestre; Norton in Hales, Alden and Bromfield, co. Salop; Moneslow, co. Salop (?)

Pap. ff. 29. 302 × 214 mm. xvth cent. England.

384 [R. 61198]. *Collectiones Magistri Briarwoddi (Sir Robert Breerwood) in antepredicamenta.*

Pap. ff. 100. 226 × 160 mm. xvith cent. England.

385 [R. 61146]. Processionale.

Vell. ff. 104. 180 × 129 mm. xvth cent. France.

From the library of the Monastery of Saint Florent at Saumur, Maine-et-Loire, France.

386 [R. 45110]. S. Augustini Opera.

Retractionum libri duo.

Epistola Quodvultdei diaconi ad beatum. Augustinum.

Epistola beati Augustini ad Quodvultdeum diaconum.

Item Quodvultdeus ad beatum Augustinum.

Rescriptum Sancti Augustini ad eundem.

Liber de heresibus.

De baptismo parvulorum.

De unico baptismo.

De spiritu et littera.

De gratia et libero arbitrio.

De gratia et correptione.

Sermones de eodem.

De X plagis.

De avaricia et luxuria.

De decem cordis.

De libero arbitrio.

De anima et spiritu.

De baptismo.

Contra Cresconium Grammaticum.

De duabus animabus.

Vell. ff. 266. 347 × 247 mm. xivth cent. France. "Liber Sancte Marie de Camberone."

387 [R. 45190]. Ordo compendii diurni nuncupati iuxta ritum Romane Curie incipit et pertinet loco Annuntiate civitatis Janue.

Vell. ff. 190. 220 × 170 mm. xvth cent. Italy.

388 [R. 61550]. Modus vacandi beneficiorum.

Pap. ff. 7. 276 × 213 mm. xvth cent. England.

389 [R. 8646]. Mysterium Trinitatis explicatum et ab oculos positum seu sententiae de Trinitate ortus et progressus. (die 15 Novemb, MCCCCXXVIII. Michaelis Uillanouanus.)

Pap. ff. 196 + 4 + 5. 170 × 102 mm. xvth cent. Netherlands (?).

Early binding, with "Servetus. De Myst: Trin: 1528" on the back.

390 [R. 62863.] (Phillipps, 14011.) Rotulus de noua taxacione diuersorum beneficiorum diocesis Ebor' facta tempore Regis E(dwardi) filii Regis E(dwardi) iuxta quam Abbas Ecclesie Sancte Marie Ebor' solebat onerari in parte in computo suo de decimis aliquibus. Noua taxacio quorundam beneficiorum in diocesi Ebor' facta anno secundo Regis E(dwardi) tercii a conquestu quorum Originalia sunt hic in Thesaurario sub sigillo taxatorum.

Vellum roll. 2 membranes. Early xvth cent.

The roll gives both the "Antiqua Taxatio" and the "Nova Taxatio."

- 391 [R. 63220]. S. Augustini Opera.
 Retractacionum libri duo.
 Diffinitio recte fidei Sancti Augustini.
 De spiritu et littera.
 Sententia ex libro retractacionum Sancti Augustini in librum eius de
 diuinatione demonum.
 De diuersis articulis.
 De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus.
 De Trinitate contra Felicianum hereticum.
 De cura pro mortuis agenda.
 De quantitate anime, a deodatus.
 Contra aduersarium legis et prophetarum.
 Retractacio de diuersis questionibus octoginta tribus.
 Vell. ff. 173 + 2 + 4. 205 × 150 mm. Late xiiith cent. England. Early
 binding.
- 392 [R. 62407]. The marriage of Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford,
 and Lady Catherine Grey.
 Various opinions as to the validity of clandestine marriages held by numerous English
 and foreign jurists, including William Aubrey, Robert Beale, Hugh Jones,
 Jacobus Omphilius, Johannes Oldendorpius, Marcus Ludovicus Ziegler,
 Chilianus Sniapus and Georgius Brunner.
 Vell. ff. 132 + 5 + 3. 374 × 265 mm. xvth cent. England.
- 393 [R. 62200]. Tractatus de architectura militari, MDCLII.
 Pap. ff. 24 + several engravings (mostly double page). 208 × 152 mm. Holland (?).
- 394 [R. 63493]. Old English proverbs (with Latin translations or equi-
 valents). Summa dictaminis epistolarum.
 Pap. ff. 54. 215½ × 142 mm. xvth cent. England.
- 395 [18932]. Miscellanea.
 Richard Rolle of Hampole. Postillae super Canticum Canticorum.—
 De incendio amoris.—De amore dei contra amatores mundi.
 Extracts from the writings of St. Bonaventura, St. Matilda, St. Catherine
 of Siena, St. Bridget, Grosseteste, and others.
 De Sancta Katerina.
 Meditationes passionis Christi.—Various verses (in English).—VI
 vertuous Questions and thanswers ensuyn, the which vi holy and
 wyse clerkes assembled to gedyr in þe Courte of Rome, which
 was asshid and asshid (*sic*) and answerde by everyche to othir (in
 English).
 De vitis patrum.—Augustinus de laude psalorum.—De ieiunio.—
 Various Latin verses.—Legenda sancti Sampsonis Archiepiscopi.—
 Autores Biblie.
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